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A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

ORIGINALLY EDITED BY
ROBERT CHAMBERS.

NEW EDITION, REVISED UNDER THE CARE OF THE PUBLISHERS.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME,
CONTINUING THE BIOGRAPHIES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

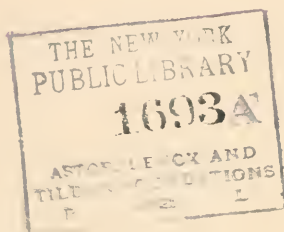
By THE REV. THOS. THOMSON,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS," ETC., ETC.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

DIVISION VII.
RAMSAY—WILSON.

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—PICTA. T. Baffin.

THOMAS BAFFIN

ENGLISH

ENGLISH EXPLORER AND NAVIGATOR OF THE ARCTIC OCEAN

THOMAS BAFFIN (1619-1681)

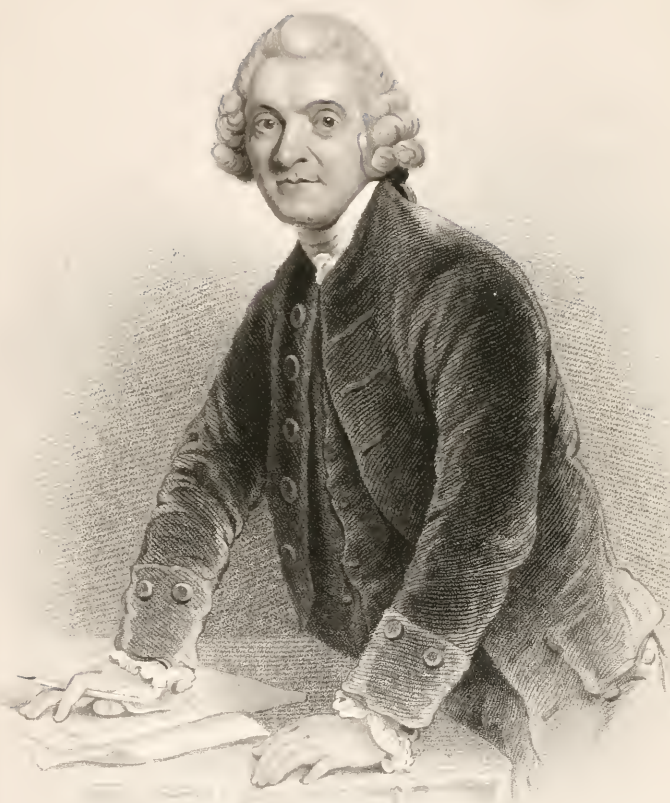


JOHN SMITH

1650-1720

Engraved by J. Smith

Printed by J. Smith



JOHN HENRY LAMONT

SCIENTIST AND STATESMAN

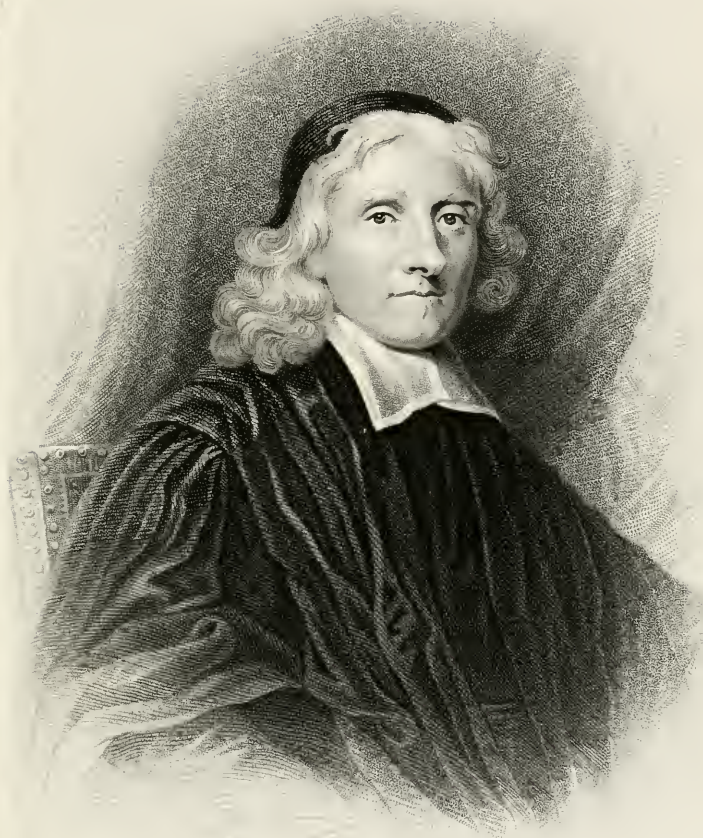




JOHN HENRY

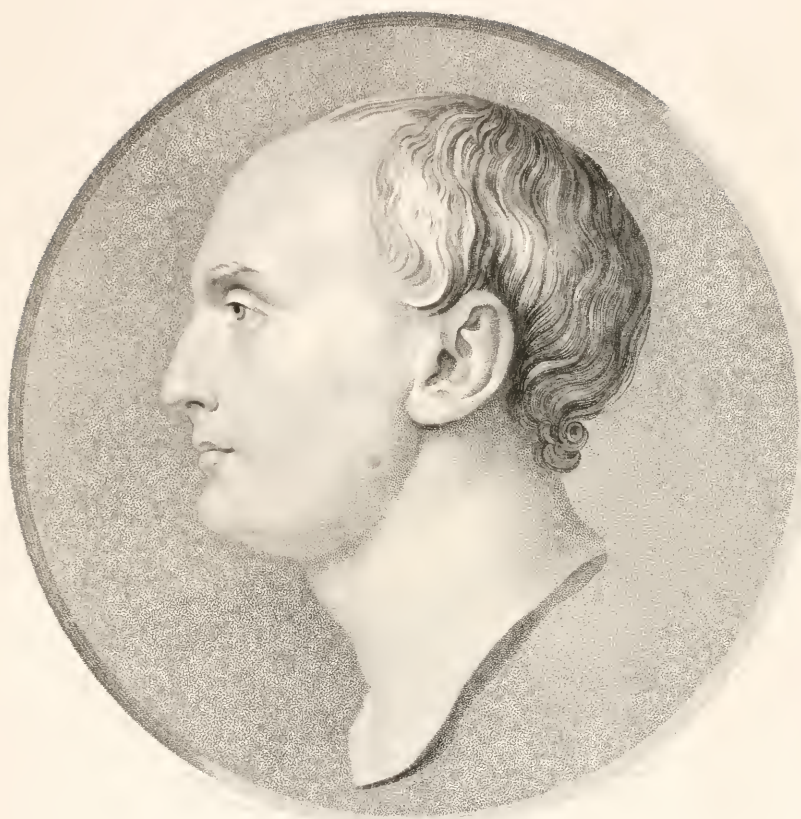
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

AND OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK



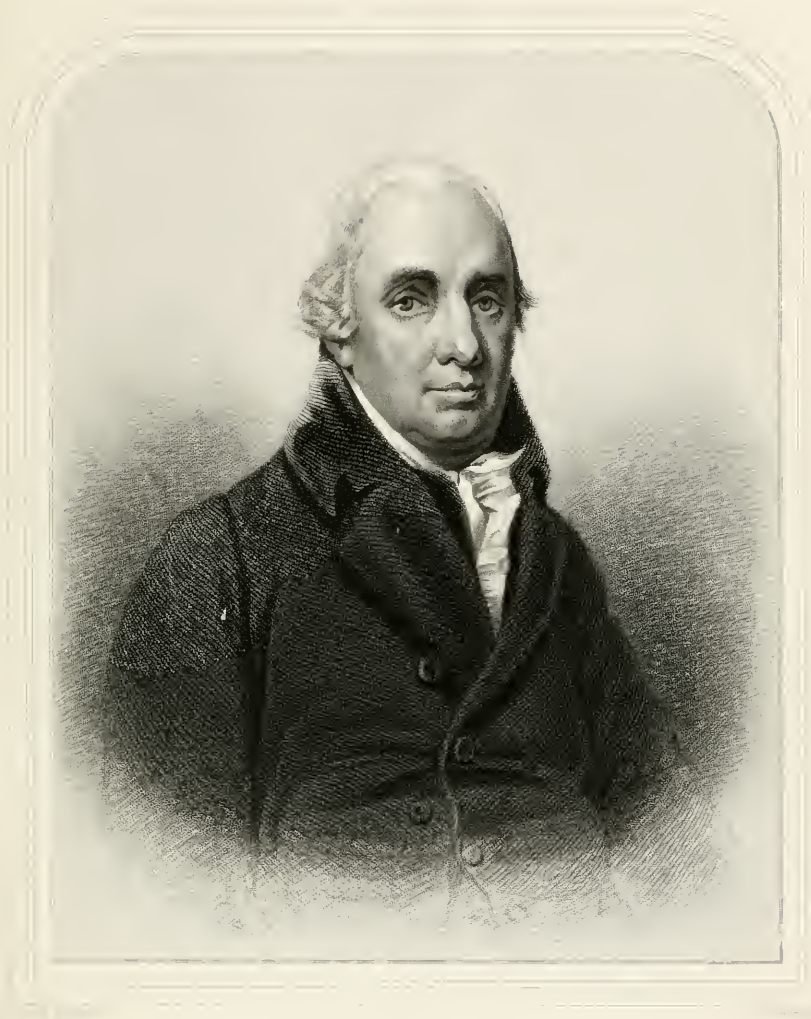
JOHN BISHOP

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT



JOHN B. STUBBS
1812



Portrait of Sir John Harington

1561-1633

English statesman and diplomat

Member of the House of Commons

Engraving by J. Smith



was rejected by the author, when he republished his poems. Allan had this year been elected Poet Laureate of the club. But the rising of Mar put an end to its meetings; and Ramsay, though still a keen Jacobite, felt it to be for his interest to be so in secret. It was now, however, that he commenced in earnest his poetical career, and speedily rose to a degree of popularity, which had been attained by no poet in Scotland since the days of Sir David Lindsay. For more than a century, indeed, Scottish poetry had been under an eclipse, while such poetical genius as the age afforded chose Latin as the medium of communication. Semple, however, and Hamilton of Gilbertfield had of late years revived the notes of the Doric reed; and it seems to have been some of their compositions, as published in Watson's Collection in 1706, that first inspired Ramsay. Maggy Johnston's Elegy was speedily followed by that on John Cowper, quite in the same strain of broad humour. The publication of king James's "Christ's Kirk on the Green," from an old manuscript, speedily followed, with an additional canto by the editor, which, possessing the same broad humour, in a dialect perfectly level to the comprehension of the vulgar, while its precursor could not be read even by them without the aid of explanatory notes, met with a most cordial reception. Commentators have since that period puzzled themselves not a little to explain the language of the supposed royal bard. Ramsay, however, saved himself the trouble, leaving every one to find it out the best way he might, for he gave no explanations; and at the same time, to impress his readers with admiration of his great learning, he printed his motto, taken from Gawin Douglas, in Greek characters. A second edition of this work was published in the year 1718, with the addition of a third canto, which increased its popularity so much, that, in the course of the four following years, it ran through five editions. It was previously to the publication of this work in its extended form, that Allan Ramsay had commenced the bookselling business, for it was "printed for the author, at the Mercury, opposite to Niddry's Wynd;" but the exact time when or the manner how he changed his profession has not been recorded. At the Mercury, opposite to the head of Niddry's Wynd, Ramsay seems to have prosecuted his business as an original author, editor, and bookseller, with great diligence for a considerable number of years. His own poems he continued to print as they were written, in single sheets or half sheets, in which shape they are reported to have found a ready sale, the citizens being in the habit of sending their children with a penny for "Allan Ramsay's last piece." In this form were first published, besides those we have already mentioned, "The City of Edinburgh's address to the Country," "The City of Edinburgh's Salutation to the marquis of Caernarvon," "Elegy on Lucky Wood," "Familiar Epistles," &c. &c., which had been so well received by the public that in the year 1720, he issued proposals for republishing them, with additional poems, in one volume quarto. The estimation in which the poet was now held was clearly demonstrated by the rapid filling up of a list of subscribers, containing the names of all that were eminent for talents, learning, or dignity in Scotland. The volume, handsomely printed by Ruddiman, and ornamented by a portrait of the author, from the pencil of his friend Smibert, was published in the succeeding year, and the fortunate poet realized four hundred guineas by the speculation. This volume was, according to the fashion of the times, prefaced with several copies of recommendatory verses; and it contained the first scene of the Gentle Shepherd, under the title of "Patie and Roger," and apparently intended as a mere pastoral dialogue. Incited by his brilliant success, Ramsay redoubled his diligence, and in the year 1722, produced a volume of Fables and Tales; in 1723, the Fair Assembly; and, in 1724, Health, a poem, inscribed to the earl of Stair. In the year 1719, he had published a

volume of Scottish Songs, which had already run through two editions, by which he was encouraged to publish in January 1724, the first volume of "The Tea Table Miscellany," a collection of Songs, Scottish and English. This was soon followed by a second; in 1727, by a third; and some years afterwards by a fourth. The demand for this work was so great that, in the course of a few years, it ran through twelve editions. In later times Ramsay has been condemned for what he seems to have looked upon as a meritorious piece of labour. He had refitted about sixty of the old airs with new verses, partly by himself, and partly by others; which was perhaps absolutely necessary on account of the rudeness and indecency of the elder ditties. Modern antiquaries, however, finding that he has thus been the means of banishing the latter order of songs out of existence, declaim against him for a result which he perhaps never contemplated, and which, to say the least of it, could never have occurred, if the lost poems had possessed the least merit. That Ramsay, in publishing a work for the immediate use of his contemporaries, did not consult the taste or wishes of an age a century later, was certainly very natural; and though we may regret that the songs are lost, we cannot well see how the blame lies with him. Ramsay, let us also recollect, was at this very time evincing his desire to bring forward the really valuable productions of the elder muse. In the year 1724, he published the "Ever-Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600." Ramsay, however, was neither a faithful, nor a well informed editor. He introduced into this collection, as ancient compositions, two pieces of his own, entitled, "The Vision," and "The Eagle and Robin Redbreast," the former being a political allegory with a reference to the Pretender.

Ramsay had already written and published, in his first volume of original poetry, "Patie and Roger," which he had followed up the following year with "Jenny and Maggy," a pastoral, being a sequel to "Patie and Roger." These sketches were so happily executed, as to excite in every reader a desire to see them extended. He therefore proceeded with additional colloquies in connexion with the former, so as to form in the end a dramatic pastoral in five acts. In the following letter, published here for the first time, it will be seen that he was engaged on this task in spring 1724, at a time when the duties of life were confining him to the centre of a busy city, and when, by his own confession, he had almost forgot the appearance of those natural scenes which he has nevertheless so admirably described:—

ALLAN RAMSAY TO WILLIAM RAMSAY, OF TEMPLEHALL, Esq.

"Edinburgh, April 8th, 1724.

"Sir,—These come to bear you my very heartiest and grateful wishes. May you long enjoy your Marlesfield, see many a returning spring pregnant with new beautys; may every thing that's excellent in its kind continue to fill your extended soul with pleasure. Rejoyce in the beneficence of heaven, and let all about ye rejoyce—whilst we, alake, the laborious insects of a smoaky city, hurry about from place to place in one eternal maze of fatiguing cares, to secure this day our daylie bread—and something till't. For me, I have almost forgot how springs gush from the earth. Once, I had a notion how fragrant the fields were after a soft shower; and often, time out of mind! the glowing blushes of the morning have fired my breast with raptures. Then it was that the mixture of rural music echo'd agreeable from the surrounding hills, and all nature appear'd in gayety.

"However, what is wanting to me of rural sweets I endeavour to make up by

being continually at the acting of some new farce, for I'm grown, I know not how, so very wise, or at least think so (which is much about one), that the mob of mankind afford me a continual diversion; and this place, tho' little, is crowded with merry-andrews, fools, and fops, of all sizes, [who] intermix'd with a few that can think, compose the comical medley of actors.

"Receive a sang made on the marriage of my young chief—I am, this vacation, going through with a Dramatick Pastoral, which I design to carry the length of five acts, in verse a' the gate, and if I succeed according to my plan, I hope to tope with the authors of Pastor Fido and Aminta.

"God take care of you and yours, is the constant prayer of, sir, your faithful humble servant,

"ALLAN RAMSAY."

The poem was published in 1725, under the title of the Gentle Shepherd, and met with instant and triumphant success. A second edition was printed by Ruddiman for the author, who still resided at his shop opposite Niddry's Wynd; but the same year he removed from this his original dwelling to a house in the east end of the Luckenbooths, which had formerly been the London Coffee house. Here, in place of Mercury, he adopted the heads of Ben Jonson and Drummond of Hawthornden, and in addition to his business as a bookseller, he commenced that of a circulating library. Ramsay was the first to establish such a business in Scotland, and it appears that he did so, not without some opposition from the more serious part of the community, who found fault with him for lending the loose plays of that age to persons whose morals were liable to be tainted by them. In this shop the wits of Edinburgh continued daily to meet for information and amusement during the days of Ramsay and his successors in trade. In the year 1723, he published by subscription the second volume of his poems in quarto, (including the Gentle Shepherd,) which was equally successful with the first. Of this volume a second edition was printed in octavo in the succeeding year. In 1730, Ramsay published a collection of thirty fables, after which, though he wrote several copies of verses for the amusement of his friends, he gave nothing more to the public. His fame was now at the full, and though he had continued to issue a number of volumes every year, all equally good as those that preceded them, it could have received no real addition. Over all the three kingdoms, and over all their dependencies, the works of Ramsay were widely diffused, and warmly admired. The whole were republished by the London booksellers in the year 1731, and by the Dublin booksellers in 1733, all sterling proofs of extended popularity, to which the poet himself failed not on proper occasions to allude.

Ramsay had now risen to wealth and to high respectability, numbering among his familiar friends the best and the wisest men in the nation. By the greater part of the Scottish nobility he was caressed, and at the houses of some of the most distinguished of them, Hamilton palace, Loudoun castle, &c., was a frequent visitor. With Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, afterwards lord president, and the first of Scottish patriots, Sir John Clerk, Sir William Bennet, and Sir Alexander Dick, he lived in the habit of daily and familiar, and friendly intercourse. With contemporary poets his intercourse was extensive and of the most friendly kind. The two Hamiltons, of Bangour and Gilbertfield, were his most intimate friends. He addressed verses to Pope, to Gay, and to Somerville, the last of whom returned his poetical salutations in kind. Mitchell and Mallet shared also in his friendly greetings. Meston addressed to him verses highly complimentary, and William Scott of Thirlstane wrote Latin hexameters to his praise. Under so much good fortune he could not escape the malignant

glances of envious and disappointed poetasters, and of morose and stern moralists. By the first he was annoyed with a "Block for Allan Ramsay's wig, or the Poet fallen in a trance;" by the latter, "Allan Ramsay metamorphosed to a Heather-bloter poet, in a pastoral between Algon and Melibœa," with "The flight of religious piety from Scotland upon the account of Ramsay's lewd books and the hell-bred playhouse comedians, who debauch all the faculties of the souls of the rising generation," "A Looking-glass for Allan Ramsay," "The Dying Words of Allan Ramsay," &c. The three last of these pieces were occasioned by a speculation which he entered into for the encouragement of the drama, to which he appears to have been strongly attached. For this purpose, about the year 1736, he built a playhouse in Carrubber's close at vast expense, which, if it was ever opened, was immediately shut up by the act for licensing the stage, which was passed in the year 1737. Ramsay on this occasion addressed a rhyming complaint to the court of session, which was first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, and since in all the editions that have been given of his works. It does not, however, appear that he obtained any redress, and the pecuniary loss which he must have suffered probably affected him more than the lampoons to which we have alluded. He had previously to this published his "Reasons for not answering the Hackney Scribblers," which are sufficiently biting, and with which he seems to have remained satisfied through life. He has described himself in one of his epistles as a

" Little man that lo'ed his ease,
And never thol'd these passions lang
That rudely meant to do him wrang ;"

which we think the following letter to his old friend Smibert, the painter, who had by this time emigrated to the western world, will abundantly confirm:—"My dear old friend, your health and happiness are ever ane addition to my satisfaction. God make your life easy and pleasant. Half a century of years have now rowed o'er my pow, that begins to be lyart; yet thanks to my author I eat, drink, and sleep as sound as I did twenty years syne, yea I laugh, heartily too, and find as many subjects to employ that faculty upon as ever; fools, fops, and knaves grow as rank as formerly, yet here and there are to be found good and worthy men who are ane honour to human life. We have small hopes of seeing you again in our old world; then let us be virtuous and hope to meet in heaven. My good auld wife is still my bedfellow. My son Allan has been pursuing your science since he was a dozen years auld; was with Mr Hyffidg at London for some time about two years ago; has been since at home, painting here like a Raphael; sets out for the seat of the beast beyond the Alps within a month hence, to be away about two years. I'm sweer to part with him, but canna stem the current which flows from the advice of his patrons and his own inclination. I have three daughters, one of seventeen, one of sixteen, and one of twelve years old, and no ae wally dragle among them—all fine girls. These six or seven years past I have not written a line of poetry; I can give over in good time, before the coolness of fancy that attends advanced years should make me risk the reputation I had acquired.

" Frae twenty-five to five and forty,
My muse was neither sweer nor dorty,
My Pegasus would break his tether,
E'en at the shaking of a feather;
And through ideas scour like drift,
Streking his wings up to the lift;

Then, then my soul was in a low,
That gart my numbers safely row;
But eild and judgment gin to say,
Let be your sangs, and learn to pray."

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more pleasing picture of ease and satisfaction than is exhibited in the above sketch; and, the affair of the theatre in Carrubber's close excepted, Ramsay seems to have filled it up to the last. He lost his wife, Christian Ross, in the year 1743; but his three daughters, grown up to womanhood, in some measure supplied the want of her society, and much of his time in his latter years seems to have been spent with his friends in the country. It appears to have been about this period, and with the view of relinquishing his shop, the business of which still went on prosperously, that he erected a house on the north side of the Castle Hill, where he might spend the remainder of his days in dignified retirement. The site of this house was selected with the taste of a poet and the judgment of a painter. It commanded a reach of scenery probably not surpassed in Europe, extending from the mouth of the Forth on the east to the Grampians on the west, and stretching far across the green hills of Fife to the north; embracing in the including space every variety of beauty, of elegance, and of grandeur. The design for the building, however, which the poet adopted, was paltry in the extreme, and by the wags of the city was compared to a goose pye, of which complaining one day to lord Elibank, his lordship gayly remarked, that now seeing him in it he thought it an exceedingly apt comparison. Fantastic though the house was, Ramsay spent the last twelve years of his life in it, except when he was abroad with his friends, in a state of philosophic ease, which few literary men are able to attain. In the year 1755, he is supposed to have relinquished business. An Epistle which he wrote this year to James Clerk, Esq. of Pennycuick, "full of wise saws and modern instances," gives his determination on the subject, and a picture of himself more graphic than could be drawn by any other person:

"Tho' born to no ae inch of ground,
I keep my conscience white and sound;
And though I ne'er was a rich keeper,
To make that up I live the cheaper;
By this ae knack I've made a shift
To drive ambitious care adrift;
And now in years and sense grown auld,
In ease I like my limbs to fauld.
Debts I abhor, and plan to be
From shackling trade and dangers free;
That I may, loosed frae care and strife,
With calmness view the edge of life;
And when a full ripe age shall crave
Slide easily into my grave;
Now seventy years are o'er my head,
And thirty more may lay me dead."

While he was thus planning schemes of ease and security, Ramsay seems to have forgotten the bitter irony of a line in one of his elegies,

"The wily carl, he gathered gear,
But ah! he's dead."

At the very time he was thus writing, he was deeply afflicted with the scurvy in his gums, by which he eventually lost all his teeth, and even a portion of

one of his jaw bones. He died at Edinburgh on the 7th of January, 1757, in the 73rd year of his age. He was buried on the 9th of the month, without any particular honours, and with him for a time was buried Scottish poetry, there not being so much as one poet found in Scotland to sing a requiem over his grave. His wife, Christian Ross, seems to have brought him seven children, three sons and four daughters; of these Allan, the eldest, and two daughters survived him. Of the character of Ramsay, the outlines we presume may be drawn from the comprehensive sketch which we have exhibited of the events of his life. Prudent self-control seems to have been his leading characteristic, and the acquisition of a competency the great object of his life. He was one of the few poets to whom, in a pecuniary point of view, poetry has been really a blessing, and who could combine poetic pursuits with those of ordinary business.

RAMSAY, ALLAN, an eminent portrait-painter, was the eldest son of the subject of the preceding article, and was born in Edinburgh in the year 1713. He received a liberal education, and displayed in boyhood a taste for the art which he afterwards successfully cultivated. His father, writing to his friend Smibert in 1736, says: "My son Allan has been pursuing your science since he was a dozen years auld; was with Mr Hyffidg in London for some time, about two years ago; has since been painting here like a Raphael: sets out for the seat of the beast beyond the Alps within a month hence, to be away two years. I'm sweer [loath] to part with him, but canna stem the current which flows from the advice of his patrons and his own inclination." It is to be supposed that the father would be the less inclined to control his son in this matter, as he was himself, in early life, anxious to be brought up as a painter. In Italy young Ramsay studied three years under Solimano and Imperiali, two artists of celebrity. He then returned to his native country, and commenced business, painting, amongst others, his father's friend, president Forbes, and his own sister, Janet Ramsay, whose portraits are preserved in Newhall house, and an excellent full-length of Archibald duke of Argyle, in his robes as an extraordinary lord of session, now in the Town Hall, Glasgow. The name of Allan Ramsay junior, is found in the list of the members of the Academy of St Luke, an association of painters and lovers of painting, instituted at Edinburgh in 1729, but which does not appear to have done anything worthy of record.¹ It would also appear that he employed part of his time in giving private instructions in drawing, for it was while thus engaged in the family of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick, that he gained the heart and hand of the baronet's eldest daughter, Margaret—a niece of the illustrious Mansfield—by whom he had three children. In 1754, he became the founder of the Select Society, which comprised all the eminent learned characters then living in the Scottish capital, and which he was well qualified to adorn, as he was an excellent classical scholar, knew French and Italian perfectly, and had all the polish and liberal feeling of a highly instructed man.

Previously to this period he had made London his habitual residence, though he occasionally visited both Rome and Edinburgh. In Bouquet's pamphlet on "the Present State of the Fine Arts in England," published in 1755, he is spoken of as "an able painter, who, acknowledging no other guide than nature, brought a rational taste of resemblance with him from Italy. Even in his portraits," says this writer, "he shows that just steady spirit, which he so agreeably displays in his conversation." He found in the earl of Bridgewater, one of

¹ The rules of this obscure institution, with the signatures, were published by Mr Patrick Gibson, in his "View of the Arts of Design in Britain," in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1816.

his earliest English patrons. He was also introduced by the earl of Bute to the prince of Wales, afterwards George III., of whom he painted portraits, both in full length and in profile, which were engraved, the one by Ryland, the other by Woollett. He practised portrait-painting for several years with distinguished success, being deficient, according to Walpole, rather in subjects than in genius. His portraits are distinguished by a calm unaffected representation of nature; and he is universally allowed to have contributed, with Reynolds, to raise this branch of art in Britain. He had not long been in practice before he acquired considerable wealth, which, it appears, he used in a liberal spirit. When his father died in 1757, in somewhat embarrassed circumstances, he paid his debts, settling, at the same time, a pension on his unmarried sister, Janet Ramsay, who survived till 1804.

In 1767, Ramsay was appointed portrait-painter to the king and queen, which brought him an immense increase of employment, as portraits of their majesties were perpetually in demand for foreign courts, ambassadors, and public bodies at home. He was, therefore, obliged to engage no fewer than five assistants to forward his pictures, among whom was David Martin, the predecessor of Raeburn. In consequence of his enlightened and amusing conversation, he became a great favourite with their majesties, the queen being particularly pleased with him on account of his ability to converse in German, in which he had not a rival at court, save amongst her own domestics. The state nobles, and other public leaders of that time, were also fond of the conversation of Ramsay, who is said to have taken more pleasure in politics and literature than in his art, and wrote many pieces on controverted subjects, with the signature, "Investigator," which were ultimately collected into a volume. He corresponded, too, with Voltaire and Rousseau, both of whom he visited when abroad; and his letters are said to have been elegant and witty. "Ramsay, in short," says Mr A. Cunningham, "led the life of an elegant accomplished man of the world, and public favourite." He was frequently of Dr Johnson's parties, who said of him, "You will not find a man in whose conversation there is more instruction, more information, and elegance, than in Ramsay's." He was noted in his own country for having, after the battle of Prestonpans, written an imitation of the song of Deborah in scripture, which he put into the mouth of a Jacobite young lady of family, and which displayed considerable powers of satire; and in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1813, will be found a burlesque on Horace's "Integer Vitæ," which shows such a dexterous union of the Latin rhythm with the English rhyme, as none but a man of a singular kind of genius could have effected.¹

In consequence of an accident which injured his arm, Ramsay retired from business about the year 1775. He then lived several years in Italy, amusing himself chiefly with literary pursuits. His health gradually sinking, he formed the wish to return to his native land; but the motion of the carriage brought on a slow fever by the way, and he died at Dover, August 10, 1781, in the seventy-first year of his age.

John Ramsay, the son of the painter, entered the army, and rose to the rank of major-general. His two daughters, Amelia and Charlotte, were respectively married to Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverness, and colonel Malcolm of Ford farm, Surrey.

¹ The following portraits, by Mr Ramsay, have, amongst others, been engraved:—King George III. Queen Charlotte. Frederick, prince of Wales. Lord chancellor Hardwicke. The earl of Bute. John, duke of Argyle. The earl of Bath. Sir Charles Pratt (lord Camden). Thomas Burnet, judge of common pleas. Hugh Dalrymple (lord Drummore). Dr Alexander Monro, *primus*. David Hume. Archibald, duke of Argyle. President Forbes. Provost Coutts. Lady George Lennox. Lady Erskine. Allan Ramsay, the poet.

RAMSAY, ANDREW MICHAEL, better known by the name of the Chevalier de Ramsay, was born in Ayr, 9th June, 1686. He was the son of a baker, who had acquired some property, and was able to give him a good education. From the school of his native burgh, he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he became distinguished for his abilities and diligence. In consequence of the high reputation he had acquired he was intrusted with the tuition of James, afterwards fourth earl of Wemyss, and his brother David, lord Elcho, the former of whom he attended at the university of St Andrews. Of these youths the chevalier has left a pleasing notice, dated Isleworth, February 25, 1709: "I have nothing to interrupt me but an hour or two's attendance at night upon two of the most innocent, sweet, sprightly little boys I ever knew." Besides this notice of his pupils, we have in the same document a remarkable revelation respecting himself. That he was a young man full of literary enthusiasm, and haunted with day-dreams of immortality, the history of his after life abundantly testifies; yet he professes here that all his "ambition was to be forgotten." Such a profession may reasonably be suspected in any man, for no one, in ordinary circumstances, can have the least reason to fear that he will be forgotten. In young men it may always be interpreted as meaning the very reverse of the expression, being neither more nor less than the extorted bitterness of a proud or a vain spirit, sickening and sinking under the prospect of accumulating difficulties or ultimate disappointment. Before this time, Ramsay had become unsettled in his religious principles. He now visited Holland, and took up his residence at Leyden, the university of which was at that time the common resort of the literary youth of Scotland. Here he fell into the company of Poirer, one of the most distinguished advocates of the mystic theology, then so prevalent on the continent, from whom he learned the leading dogmas of that system. Having heard of the fame of Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, and that he had long advocated mysticism, Ramsay determined to pay him a visit, and take his advice on the subject. He accordingly, in 1710, repaired to Cambray, where he met with the most cordial reception. He was at this time in his twenty-fourth year, polite and engaging in his manners, and of a gentle and easy temper, every way calculated to win upon the affections of a man like Fenelon. Having received him into his house as an inmate of the family, the good archbishop listened to the disjointed history of his religious opinions with patience, discussed with him at large his objections, his doubts, and his difficulties, and in less than six months had the satisfaction to find that he had succeeded in making his guest a true catholic, at least as far as he could believe himself such, for Ramsay had most cordially imbibed all his opinions, philosophical, moral, and religious. This strange adventure gave colour and consistence to the whole subsequent life of the chevalier. Having been preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, heir-apparent to the throne of France, Fenelon had considerable influence at the French court, and he procured for his disciple and protégé the preceptorship to the duke de Chateau-Thierry and the prince de Turenne. In this situation Ramsay acquitted himself so well that he was made a knight of the order of St Lazarus, and from the commendations he received was selected by the person called the Pretender, to superintend the education of his two sons, prince Charles Edward, and Henry, afterwards cardinal de York. For this purpose he left France, and repaired to Rome in the year 1724. The retirement that he had previously courted and enjoyed, was now interrupted. His literary status hindered him from keeping altogether aloof from the kindred spirits around him. Moreover, he perceived that the political and religious intrigues that were carried on at the apostolic court, but ill suited the prosecution of those literary

labours in which he had embarked. He therefore, after a short residence in Italy, requested of his employer permission to return to France, which was readily granted. Literary leisure was what he now desired. In the capital of France, however, it was unlikely he could obtain this, as the same intolerant spirit prevailed that had hastened his departure from Rome. He therefore resolved on visiting his native country. On reaching Britain, he was received into the family of the duke of Argyle. That repose so congenial to one of his studious habits was now afforded him, and he immediately set about the preparation of those works which he had long meditated, and through which he has become known to posterity. His largest work, "On the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion," contains a luminous and detailed statement of the various steps which the Divine Being, in the one of these grand divisions, has made demonstrable by human reason, and an ingenious exhibition of the other, as made known to man by revelation. The forcible process of deduction, which, throughout the work, is brought to bear upon the mind of the reader, can hardly fail in accomplishing what the author intended—an elevation of the heart of the creature to the Creator. The work has passed several times through the press. Ramsay next published "The Travels of Cyrus." The best criterion of judging of this publication is to be found in the great number of editions that have from time to time been laid before the public. Although the fame of the chevalier, as a writer, rests chiefly upon the "Travels of Cyrus," yet on its first appearance it met with severe criticism. That a desire to be hypercritical might sway some of his literary judges is possible; at any rate, it has outlived their censorship. It secured for its author an honourable niche among the standard authors of Britain. It displays an intimate acquaintance with the customs, laws, learning, and antiquities of the period of which it treats, and exhibits a beautiful delineation of human character, together with the soundest principles of true philosophical discrimination. Soon after these works appeared, he was honoured by the university of Oxford with the degree of doctor of laws, which was conferred on him by Dr King, principal of St Mary's Hall. It ought to have been previously stated, that, before receiving this honourable distinction, he had been admitted to St Mary's Hall in 1730. He afterwards returned to France, and resided several years at Pontoise, a seat of the prince de Turenne, duke de Bouillon. While here, he published the life of his benefactor, the archbishop of Cambray; a biographical sketch, chiefly remarkable as containing a detailed account of the persecution to which the worthy prelate was subjected by his brother divines, for his suspected connivance at the doctrines of mysticism, and the arguments adduced on both sides on his own conversion to the catholic faith. It was reprinted in this country in a small duodecimo volume. Soon afterwards, he published, in two volumes, "The History of Viscount Turenne, marshal of France," which was also translated and published in England. He resided in the prince's family in the situation of intendant till the period of his death, which happened at St Germain en Laye, on the 6th of May, 1743, having nearly completed his fifty-seventh year. His remains were interred at the place where he died, but some time afterwards his heart was removed to the nunnery of St Sacrament at Paris.

It is supposed that when in England he did not visit the place of his birth. Perhaps his renunciation of the faith of his forefathers, and blighting the hopes of a doting parent, prevented his doing so. That he did not, however, neglect his relations is evident from the fact of his wishing to settle upon them an annuity, which they refused to accept. From France he remitted a considerable sum of money to his father; but on its being presented, the staunch presbyterian indignantly replied, "It cam' by the beast, and let it gang to the

beast;" and it is not supposed that he ever profited in any manner by his son's abilities.

The principal works of the chevalier Ramsay not yet alluded to, are 'A Discourse on the Epic Poem,' in French, generally prefixed to the later editions of *Telemachus*, "An Essay on Civil Government;" "Remarks on lord Shaftesbury's Characteristics" (French); a few English poems of no value; and two letters in French to Racine the younger, upon the true sentiments of Pope in the *Essay on Man*.

REID, (DR) THOMAS, an eminent metaphysician and moral philosopher, and professor of the latter science in the universities of Aberdeen and Glasgow successively, was born at Strachan, in Kincardineshire, in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, on the 26th of April, 1710, as shown by the minute researches of professor Dugald Stewart, who affectionately wrote the life of his eminent friend. The family of Reid had been ornamented by producing different authors of considerable eminence in their age.¹ One of his ancestors, James Reid, was the first minister of Banchory-Ternan (a parish in the neighbourhood of Strachan) after the Reformation. His son Thomas has been commemorated by Dempster, (whose praises of a protestant clergyman's son may be deemed worthy of credit,) as a man of great eminence. He collected in a volume the Theses he had defended at foreign universities; and some of his Latin poems were inserted in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. He was Greek and Latin secretary to James I., and bequeathed to Marischal college a sum for the support of a librarian, which has since disappeared, or been directed to other purposes. Alexander, a brother of Thomas, was physician to king Charles I., and published some forgotten works on medicine and surgery. Another brother translated Buchanan's History of Scotland into English. The father of the subject of our memoir was the reverend Lewis Reid, for fifty years minister of the parish of Strachan; and his mother was daughter to David Gregory of Kinnairdie, elder brother of James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting telescope.

After spending two years at the parish school of Kincardine O'Neil, Thomas Reid was sent, for the farther prosecution of his studies, to Aberdeen, where, at the age of twelve or thirteen, he was entered as a student of Marischal college. Little is known of his early studies or qualifications, with the exception of the not very flattering remark of his master, "That he would turn out to be a man of good and well-wearing parts." In a letter to a friend, written late in life, he has stated some circumstances connected with his habits of body in youth, which he appears to have recollected merely as the data of some of his philosophical speculations. They are perhaps not the least interesting, as showing that the physical state of the body produces effects in the procedure of the mind, different from what might be presumed as the mental characteristics of the individual, as derivable from his opinions. "About the age of fourteen," he says, "I was almost every night unhappy in my sleep from frightful dreams; sometimes hanging over a dreadful precipice, and just ready to drop down; sometimes pursued for my life, and stopped by a wall, or by a sudden loss of all strength; sometimes ready to be devoured by a wild beast. How long I was plagued with such dreams, I do not recollect. I believe it was for a year or two at least; and I think they had quite left me before I was sixteen. In those days, I was much given to what Mr Addison, in one of his Spectators, calls castle-building: and in my evening solitary walk, which was generally all the exercise I took, my thoughts would hurry me into some active scene, where I generally acquitted myself much to my own satisfaction; and in these scenes of imagination, I performed many a gallant exploit. At the same time, in my

¹ Stewart's Biographical Memoirs, p. 400.

dreams I found myself the most arrant coward that ever was. Not only my courage, but my strength failed me in every danger; and I often rose from my bed in the morning in such a panic, that it took some time to get the better of it. I wished very much to get free of these uneasy dreams, which not only made me unhappy in sleep, but often left a disagreeable impression in my mind for some part of the following day. I thought it was worth trying whether it was possible to recollect that it was all a dream, and that I was in no real danger, and that every fright I had was a dream. After many fruitless attempts to recollect this when the danger appeared, I effected it at last, and have often, when I was sliding over a precipice into the abyss, recollected that it was all a dream, and boldly jumped down. The effect of this commonly was, that I immediately awoke. But I awoke calm and intrepid, which I thought a great acquisition. After this, my dreams were never very uneasy; and, in a short time, I dreamed not at all." That a mind such as Reid's should have been subject to "castle-building," and to singular dreams, must be accounted for from the state of his body; while the strong active powers of his mind are shown in the mastership which he at length acquired over the propensity.

While he remained at Marischal college, Reid was appointed to the librarianship, which his ancestor had founded. During this period, he formed an intimacy with John Stewart, afterwards professor of mathematics in Marischal college. In 1736, he accompanied this gentleman to England, and they together visited London, Oxford, and Cambridge, enjoying an intercourse with Dr David Gregory, Martin, Folkes, and Dr Bentley. In 1737, the King's college, as patrons, presented Dr Reid with the living of New Machar, in Aberdeenshire. An aversion to the law of patronage, which then strongly characterized many districts of Scotland, excited hostile feelings against a man, who, if the parishioners could have shown their will as well in making a choice as in vituperating the person chosen, would have been the very man after their heart. In entering on his cure, he was even exposed to personal danger. "His unwearied attention, however," says professor Stewart, "to the duties of his office; the mildness and forbearance of his temper, and the active spirit of his humanity, soon overcame all these prejudices: and, not many years afterwards, when he was called to a different situation, the same persons who had suffered themselves to be so far misled, as to take a share in the outrages against him, followed him, on his departure, with their blessings and tears." On his departure, some old men are said to have observed, "We fought *against* Dr Reid when he came, and would have fought *for* him when he went away." It is said that, for at least a considerable portion of the time which he spent at New Machar, he was accustomed to preach the sermons of Dr Tillotson and Dr Evans, instead of his own; a circumstance which his biographer attributes to modesty and self-diffidence. In 1740, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of his uncle, Dr George Reid, physician in London. About this period, he is said to have spent his time in intensely studying moral philosophy, and in making these observations on the organs of sense, and their operation on the external world, which formed the broad basis of his philosophy. Reid was not a precocious genius; and whatever he wrote in early life, is said to have been defective in style: but he busied himself in planting good seed, which, in the autumn of his days, produced to himself and to the world a rich and abundant harvest. His first public literary attempt was an "Essay on Quantity, occasioned by reading a Treatise, in which Simple and Compound Ratios are applied to Virtue and Merit," published in the Transactions of the Royal Society, in 1748. This paper is levelled at the "Inquiry into the Origin of our ideas of Beauty and Virtue," by Dr Hutcheson, who had committed the venial philosophical sin, of

making use of a science, which can only be brought to bear on moral science as a means of illustrating it, and abbreviating the method of reasoning, as affording grounds for reasoning by analogy. Perhaps, on a fair consideration, Hutcheson may not have intended to carry his system to the extent presumed in this valuable little treatise, most of the arguments of which are made to meet the application of the mathematics, not only as forming a regular series of analogies fit to be used in moral science, but likewise as so accurately corresponding, that, as it is all measurable itself, it serves the purpose of a measurer in moral science. The following sentence contains the essence of his argument on this last point, and it is conclusive. "It is not easy to say how many kinds of improper quantity may, in time, be introduced into the mathematics, or to what new subjects measures may be applied: but this, I think, we may conclude, that there is no foundation in nature for, nor can any valuable end be served by, applying measure to any thing but what has these two properties: First, it must admit of degrees of greater and less; secondly, it must be associated with or related to something that has proper quantity, so as that when one is increased, the other is increased; when one is diminished, the other is diminished also; and every degree of the one must have a determinate magnitude or quantity of the other corresponding to it."² Reid seems not to have been very certain whether the person whom he opposes, (styled by him Dr M.,) did actually maintain mathematics as being a proper measure in the moral sciences, or that it merely afforded useful analogies; and perhaps some who are disposed to agree with Reid as to the former alternative, may not be prepared to join him in attacking the latter. He continues: "Though attempts have been made to apply mathematical reasoning to some of these things, and the quantity of virtue and merit in actions has been measured by simple and compound ratios; yet Dr M. does not think that any real knowledge has been struck out this way: it may, perhaps, if discreetly used, be a help to discourse on these subjects, by pleasing the imagination, and illustrating what is already known; but till our affections and appetites shall themselves be reduced to quantity, and exact measures of their various degrees be assigned, in vain shall we essay to measure virtue and merit by them. This is only to ring changes on words, and to make a show of mathematical reasoning, without advancing one step in real knowledge."³

In 1752, the professors of King's college in Aberdeen, elected Dr Reid professor of moral philosophy, "in testimony of the high opinion they had formed of his learning and abilities." After having taken up his residence in Aberdeen, he became one of the projectors of that select society of philosophers, which then dignified the northern city. It is perhaps partly to the influence of this association, that, among many other works, we owe the "Inquiry into the Human Mind upon the Principles of Common Sense," which Dr Reid published in 1764. As this work developed an argument against the sceptical philosophy of Mr Hume, the author, with more magnanimity than some members of his profession displayed at the time, procured, by the interposition of Dr Blair, a perusal of the manuscript by Hume, in order that any of those disputes, from mere misunderstanding of words, so pernicious to philosophical discussion, might be avoided. Hume at first displayed some disinclination, founded on previous experience of others, to encourage this new assailant. "I wish," he said, "that the parsons would confine themselves to their old occupation of worrying one another, and leave philosophers to argue with tem-

² Reid's Essays, (1820,) vi.

³ Essays, viii. Stewart, who praises the principles of this Essay, (Life ut sup. 510,) was more than most philosophers of his eminence, addicted to the vice detected in one of its forms, viz., comparison between mental and physical nature, not merely to the extent of illustration, but of analogy.

per, moderation, and good manners." But his liberal mind did not permit him, on seeing the manuscript, and knowing the worth of its author, to yield to his hasty anticipations. Writing personally to Reid, he said, "By Dr Blair's means I have been favoured with the perusal of your performance, which I have read with great pleasure and attention. It is certainly very rare, that a piece so deeply philosophical, is wrote with so much spirit, and affords so much entertainment to the reader, though I must still regret the disadvantages under which I read it, as I never had the whole performance at once before me, and could not be able fully to compare one part with another. To this reason chiefly I attribute some obscurities, which, in spite of your short analysis or abstract, still seem to hang over your system. For I must do you the justice to own, that, when I enter into your ideas, no man appears to express himself with greater perspicuity than you do; a talent which, above all others, is requisite in that species of literature which you have cultivated. There are some objections, which I would willingly propose, to the chapter *Of Sight*, did I not suspect that they proceed from my not sufficiently understanding it; and I am the more confirmed in this suspicion, as Dr Black tells me that the former objections I had made, had been derived chiefly from that cause. I shall, therefore, forbear till the whole can be before me, and shall not at present propose any farther difficulties to your reasonings. I shall only say, that if you have been able to clear up these abstruse and important subjects, instead of being mortified, I shall be so vain as to pretend to a share of the praise; and shall think that my errors, by having at least some coherence, had led you to make a more strict review of my principles, which were the common ones, and to perceive their futility."

It may be as well here to pass over the intervening events of Dr Reid's life, and give a brief sketch of the principles of his philosophy, as developed in his other works, to which, as Mr Stewart has properly remarked, the *Inquiry into the Human Mind* forms an introduction. In 1785, he published his "Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man," and in 1788, those on the "Active Powers." These two have been generally republished together, under the well known title, "Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind;" a work which has gradually gained ground in the estimation of intelligent thinkers, and is now used as a text book by many eminent teachers of philosophy. When it is said that Dr Reid's philosophy is entirely, or intended to be entirely synthetical, and that it adopts no theory, except as an induction from experiment, it will readily be understood, that a view of its general principles and tendency cannot be given; but it is not on this account very difficult to describe the method by which he reasoned, and came to the different conclusions he has adopted. Reid has generally received, and probably with justice, the praise of having been the first to extend, by a general system, the process of reasoning from experiment, so strongly recommended by Bacon in natural science, to the operations of the mind. In this he was, to a certain extent, anticipated by Hume, who, especially in his arguments on cause and effect, and his essay on miracles, proceeded on analyses of our experience: but the two philosophers followed a different method; the sceptic using his experience to show the futility of any systems of philosophy which had been raised; while Reid made use of them to redeem, as it were, mental science, by eschewing these systems, and founding one of his own on that experience which he saw had enabled the sceptic to demolish the systems, destitute of such a support. But to accomplish his purpose—and this is what distinguishes his philosophy from all other systems—Reid found it necessary to set bounds to his inquiries, which other philosophers had passed. He abstained from that speculation concerning the nature and

essence of the mind itself, which, as followed by others, had formed the most convenient object of demolition to the sceptic, and limited himself to observations on the operations of the mind, as he saw them performed before him. Instead, therefore, of appealing to any theories of his own (which he knew would require to be founded on vague speculation, and independently of observation,) on the essence of the mind, when he tried the truth of his observations, he appealed to what he called "common sense," or that sense, however acquired, which prompts us to believe one thing, and disbelieve another. Hence it might be said, in common language, that, instead of making his inquiries by means of subtle and metaphysical reasonings, he stated his views, trusting that his readers would believe him from their common sense, and, if they did not choose to do so, knowing that the greater part of the world was on his side, despite of any fine-spun objections which might be produced by the sophist. The following, perhaps, more than most other passages in his works, bears a marked stamp of his method of reasoning: "Perhaps Des Cartes meant not to assume his own existence in this enthymeme, but the existence of thought, and to infer from that the existence of a mind, or subject of thought. But why did he not prove the existence of his thought? Consciousness, it may be said, vouches that. But who is voucher of the consciousness? Can any man prove that his consciousness may not deceive him? No man can: nor can we give a better reason for trusting to it, than that every man, while his mind is sound, is determined, by the constitution of his nature, to give implicit belief to it, and to laugh at, or to pity, the man who doubts its testimony. And is not every man in his wits as determined to take his existence upon trust, as his consciousness?"⁴ It is easier to find objections to, than to erect a system of metaphysical philosophy; and that of Reid affords ample room for controversy. Admitting that the only ground on which we can ever place metaphysical truths is, the general belief of men of sound mind, it must still, in every instance, be a very questionable matter, whether these men of sound mind have come to the *right* conclusion, and whether it may not be possible, by a little more investigation and argument, even though conducted by a sceptical philosopher, to show reasons for coming to a different conclusion, and to establish it upon the very same grounds, viz., the general belief of men of sound mind. When Galileo discovered that nature abhorred a vacuum, and was afterwards obliged to admit that this abhorrence did not extend above thirty-three feet, many men of sound mind probably felt themselves "determined, by the constitution of their nature, to give implicit belief" to both positions, until one discovered the effect of atmospheric pressure, and got men of common sense to admit that nature had no greater horror at a vacuum than at a plenum. It became a necessary consequence of this method of reasoning, that Reid's first, or instinctive principles, were less simple and more numerous than those of other philosophers; and his opponents accused him of having by that means perplexed and complicated the science of mind. In simplifying this science, there are two evils to be avoided; a propensity to refine every thing into first principles, unsupported by reason; and the lesser vice of producing confusion, by not extending speculation so far towards the establishment of first principles, as there may be good reason for proceeding. It was probably in his anxiety to avoid the former, that Reid incurred not unjust censure for sometimes embracing the latter alternative. The "Principle of Credulity," and the "Principle of Veracity," are certainly objectionable. Reid has had many warm followers, and many who have looked on his philosophy with great contempt. Those who conceive that all systems of mental philosophy are merely useful for the exercise they give the mind,

⁴ Inquiry, (1819,) 28.

and the undoubted truths which they occasionally lay open, will perhaps make the fairest appreciation of his merit, and by such it may perhaps be allowed, that the broad method he followed, has enabled him to lay before the world a greater number of interesting circumstances connected with moral science, than most other philosophers have been enabled to display. Before leaving the subject of his works, it may be mentioned, that he composed, as a portion of Lord Kames' *Sketches of the History of Man*, "A brief Account of Aristotle's Logic;" the chief defect of this production is, its professed brevity. It is very clear and distinct, and leads one to regret, that so accurately thinking and unprejudiced a writer, had not enriched the world with a more extensive view of the Aristotelian and other systems.

In 1763, while he was, it may be presumed, preparing his *Inquiry for the press*, a knowledge of what was expected to come from his pen, and his general fame, prompted the university of Glasgow to invite him to fill the chair of natural philosophy there. In this office, professor Stewart remarks, that "his researches concerning the human mind, and the principles of morals, which had occupied but an inconsiderable space in the wide circle of science, allotted to him by his former office, were extended and methodized in a course, which employed five hours every week, during six months of the year. The example of his illustrious predecessor, and the prevailing topics of conversation around him, occasionally turned his thoughts to commercial politics, and produced some ingenious essays on different questions connected with trade, which were communicated to a private society of his academical friends. His early passion for the mathematical sciences was revived by the conversation of Simson, Moor, and the Wilsons; and at the age of fifty-five, he attended the lectures of Black with a juvenile curiosity and enthusiasm." Dr Reid's constant desire for the acquisition of facts on which to raise his deductions, kept him continually awake to all new discoveries; and he spent many, even of the latter days of his long life, in observing the truths which were developed by this illustrious chemist. The biographer, after observing that the greater part of the course of lectures delivered by Dr Reid at Glasgow, is to be found in his published works, proceeds: "Beside his speculations on the intellectual and active powers of man, and a system of practical ethics, his course comprehended some general views with respect to natural jurisprudence, and the fundamental principles of politics. A few lectures on rhetoric, which were read at a separate hour, to a more advanced class of students, formed a voluntary addition to the appropriate functions of his office, to which, it is probable, he was prompted rather by a wish to supply what was then a deficiency in the established course of education, than by any predilection for a branch of study so foreign to his ordinary pursuits." It may be right to quote, from the same authority, those observations as to his method of teaching, which none but an ear-witness can make. "In his elocution and mode of instruction, there was nothing peculiarly attractive. He seldom, if ever, indulged himself in the warmth of extempore discourse; nor was his manner of reading calculated to increase the effect of what he had committed to memory. Such, however, was the simplicity and perspicuity of his style; such the gravity and authority of his character; and such the general interest of his young hearers in the doctrines which he taught, that by the numerous audiences to which his instructions were addressed, he was heard uniformly with the most silent and respectful attention. On this subject, I speak from personal knowledge, having had the good fortune, during a considerable part of winter 1772, to be one of his pupils." In 1781, Dr Reid retired from the duties of his professorship; and while his labour and assiduity had earned for him a full right to enjoy his old age in literary retirement, his mental faculties

remained unimpaired. After this period, he communicated some essays to the Philosophical Society. The most important were: "An Examination of Priestley's Opinions concerning Matter and Mind;" "Observations on the Utopia of Sir Thomas More;" and "Physiological Reflections on Muscular Motion." By this time Reid had suffered considerable domestic affliction; four of his children had died after reaching the age of maturity, leaving one daughter married to Patrick Carmichael, M. D. After his retirement, his wife died. In a letter to professor Stewart, he thus affectingly describes his situation after that event: "By the loss of my bosom friend, with whom I lived fifty-two years, I am brought into a kind of new world, at a time of life when old habits are not easily forgot, or new ones acquired. But every world is God's world, and I am thankful for the comforts he has left me. Mrs Carmichael has now the care of two old deaf men, and does everything in her power to please them; and both are very sensible of her goodness. I have more health than at my time of life I had any reason to expect. I walk about; entertain myself with reading what I soon forget; can converse with one person, if he articulates distinctly, and is within ten inches of my left ear; and go to church, without hearing one word of what is said. You know I never had any pretensions to vivacity, but I am still free from languor and *ennui*." In the summer of 1796, he spent a few weeks in Edinburgh, and his biographer, who was then his almost constant companion, mentions, that, with the exception of his memory, his mental faculties appeared almost unimpaired, while his physical powers were progressively sinking. On his return to Glasgow, apparently in his usual health and spirits, a violent disorder attacked him about the end of September; and, after repeated strokes of palsy, he died on the 7th October following. The affectionate biographer, in drawing a character of this eminent and excellent man, may be said to sum up the particulars of it in the words with which he commences. "Its most prominent features were—intrepid and inflexible rectitude;—a pure and devoted attachment to truth;—and an entire command (acquired by the unwearied exertions of a long life) over all his passions."

RENNIE, JOHN, a celebrated civil engineer, was the youngest son of a respectable farmer at Phantassie, in East Lothian, where he was born, June 7, 1761. Before he had attained his sixth year, he had the misfortune to lose his father; his education, nevertheless, was carried on at the parish school (Prestonkirk) by his surviving relatives. The peculiar talents of young Rennie seem to have been called forth and fostered by his proximity to the workshop of the celebrated mechanic, Andrew Meikle, the inventor or improver of the thrashing-machine. He frequently visited that scene of mechanism, to admire the complicated processes which he saw going forward, and amuse himself with the tools of the workmen. In time, he began to imitate at home the models of machinery which he saw there; and at the early age of ten he had made the model of a wind-mill, a steam-engine, and a pile-engine, the last of which is said to have exhibited much practical dexterity.

At twelve, Rennie left school, and entered into the employment of Andrew Meikle, with whom he continued two years. He then spent two years at Dunbar, for the purpose of improving his general education. So early as 1777, when only sixteen years of age, his Dunbar master considered him fit to superintend the school in his absence, and, on being removed to the academy at Perth, recommended Rennie as his successor. This, however, was not the occupation which the young mechanician desired, and he renewed his former labours in the workshop of Andrew Meikle, employing his leisure hours in modelling and drawing machinery. Before reaching the age of eighteen, he had erected two or three corn-mills in his native parish; but the first work which

he undertook on his own account was the rebuilding of the flour-mills at Invergowrie, near Dundee.

Views of an ambitious kind gradually opened to him, and, by zealously prosecuting his professional labours in summer, he was enabled to spend the winter in Edinburgh, where he attended the lectures of professor Robison on natural philosophy, and those of Dr Black on chemistry. Having thus fitted himself in some measure for the profession of an engineer, he proceeded to Soho, with a recommendation from Robison to Messrs Bolton and Watt. On the way, he examined the aqueduct bridge at Lancaster, the docks at Liverpool, and the interesting works on the Bridgewater canal. At Soho, he was immediately taken into employment, and it was not long ere Mr Watt discovered the extraordinary talents of his young assistant. In the erection of the Albion mills in London, which was completed in 1789, Mr Rennie was intrusted by his employers with the construction of the mill-work and machinery, which were admitted to be of superior excellence. These mills consisted of two engines, each of fifty horse power, and twenty pairs of millstones, of which twelve or more pairs, with the requisite machinery, were constantly kept at work. In place of wooden wheels, so subject to frequent derangement, wheels of cast-iron, with the teeth truly formed and finished, and properly proportioned to the work, were here employed; the other machinery, which used to be made of wood, was made of cast-iron in improved forms. This splendid establishment, which Mr Watt acknowledges to have formed the commencement of the modern improved system of mill-work, was destroyed in 1791, by wilful fire, being obnoxious to popular prejudices, under the mistaken supposition of its being a monopoly. The mechanism, however, established Mr Rennie's fame, and he soon after began to obtain extensive employment on his own account.

The earlier years of his professional life were chiefly spent in mill-work; and his merits in this line may be briefly stated. One striking improvement was in the bridge-tree. It was formerly customary to place the vertical axis of the running mill-stone in the middle of the bridge-tree, which was supported only at its two extremities. The effect of this was that the bridge-tree yielded to the variations of pressure arising from the greater or less quantity of grain admitted between the mill-stones, which was conceived to be an useful effect. Mr Rennie, however, made the bridge-tree perfectly immovable, and thus freed the machinery from that irregular play which sooner or later proves fatal to every kind of mechanism. Another improvement by Mr Rennie has been adverted to in the above account of the Albion mills; but the principal one was in the comparative advantage which he took of the water power. He so economized the power of water as to give an increase of energy, by its specific gravity, to the natural fall of streams, and to make his mills equal to fourfold the produce of those, which, before his time, depended solely on the impetus of the current.

Mr Rennie was gradually attracted from the profession of a mechanician to that of an engineer. In the course of a few years after his first coming into public notice, he was employed in a considerable number of bridges and other public works, all of which he executed in a manner which proved his extraordinary genius. His principal bridges are those of Kelso, Leeds, Musselburgh, Newton-Stewart, Boston, and New Galloway. The first, which was erected between 1799 and 1803, has been greatly admired for its elegance, and its happy adaptation to the beautiful scenery in its neighbourhood. It consists of a level road-way, resting on five elliptical arches, each of which has a span of seventy-three feet, and a rise of twenty-one. The bridge of Musselburgh is on a smaller scale, but equally perfect in its construction. A remarkable testi-

mony to its merits was paid in Mr Rennie's presence, by an untutored son of nature. He was taking the work off the contractor's hands, when a magistrate of the town, who was present, asked a countryman who was passing at the time with his cart, how he liked the new bridge. "Brig," answered the man, "it's nae brig ava; ye neither ken whan ye're on't, nor whan ye're aff't." It must be remarked that this bridge superseded an old one in its immediate neighbourhood, which had a very precipitous road-way, and was in every respect the opposite of the new one.

Mr Rennie was destined, however, to leave more splendid monuments of his talents in this particular department of his profession. The Waterloo bridge across the Thames at London, of which he was the architect, would have been sufficient in itself to stamp him as an engineer of the first order. This magnificent public work was commenced in 1811, and finished in 1817, at the expense of rather more than a million of money. It may safely be described as one of the noblest structures of the kind in the world, whether we regard the simple and chaste grandeur of its architecture, the impression of indestructibility which it forces on the mind of the beholder, or its adaptation to the useful purpose for which it was intended. It consists of nine equal arches, of 127 feet span; the breadth between the parapets is 42 feet; and the road-way is perfectly flat. Mr Rennie also planned the Southwark bridge, which is of cast-iron, and has proved very stable, notwithstanding many prophecies to the contrary. The plan of the new London bridge was likewise furnished by him; but of this public work he did not live to see even the commencement.

Among the public works of different kinds executed by Mr Rennie may be mentioned;—of canals, the Aberdeen, the Great Western, the Kennet and Avon, the Portsmouth, the Birmingham, and the Worcester;—of docks, those at Hull, Leith, Greenock, Liverpool, and Dublin, besides the West India docks in the city of London;—and of harbours, those at Berwick, Dunleary, Howth, New-haven, and Queensferry. In addition to these naval works, he planned various important improvements on the national dock-yards at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Chatham, and Sheerness; and the new naval arsenal at Pembroke was constructed from his designs. But by far the greatest of all his naval works was the celebrated breakwater at Plymouth. It is calculated that he planned works to the amount of fifty millions in all, of which nearly twenty millions were expended under his own superintendence.

Mr Rennie died, October 16, 1821, of inflammation in the liver, which had afflicted him for some years. By his wife, whom he married in 1789, he left six children, of whom the eldest, Mr George Rennie, followed the same profession as his father. This eminent man was buried with great funeral honours, in St Paul's cathedral, near the grave of Sir Christopher Wren.

The grand merit of Mr Rennie as an engineer is allowed to have been his almost intuitive perception of what was necessary for certain assigned purposes. With little theoretical knowledge, he had so closely studied the actual forms of the works of his predecessors, that he could at length trust in a great measure to a kind of tact which he possessed in his own mind, and which could hardly have been communicated. He had the art of applying to every situation where he was called to act professionally, the precise form of remedy that was wanting to the existing evil,—whether it was to stop the violence of the most boisterous sea—to make new harbours, or to render those safe which were before dangerous or inaccessible—to redeem districts of fruitful land from encroachment by the ocean, or to deliver them from the pestilence of stagnant marsh—to level hills or to tie them together by aqueducts or arches, or, by embankment, to raise the valley between them—to make bridges that for

beauty, surpass all others, and for strength seem destined to last to the latest posterity—Rennie had no rival. Though he carried the desire of durability almost to a fault, and thus occasioned more expense, perhaps, on some occasions, than other engineers would have considered strictly necessary, he was equally admired for his conscientiousness in the fulfilment of his labours, as for his genius in their contrivance. He would suffer no subterfuge for real strength to be resorted to by the contractors who undertook to execute his plans. Elevated by his genius above mean and immediate considerations, he felt in all his proceedings, as if he were in the court of posterity: he sought not only to satisfy his employers, but all future generations.

Although Rennie did not devote himself to the acquisition of theoretical knowledge, excepting to that general extent which is required by every well-informed engineer, he was fond of those investigations of a mixed character, where the results of experiment are combined by mathematical rules, and a train of inquiry directed and modified by the lights of theory. In his instrument for ascertaining the strength of flowing water, he has made a contribution to science of no small importance.

In person, Mr Rennie was greatly above the usual size. His figure was commanding, and his features massive and strong, but with a mild expression. He was endeared to all who knew him by the gentleness of his temper; and the cheerfulness with which he communicated the riches of his mind, and forwarded the views of those who made useful improvements or discoveries in machinery, procured him universal respect.

RENWICK, JAMES, a celebrated non-conforming clergyman, was born in the parish of Glencairn, Dumfries-shire, on the 15th of February, 1662. His parents, who were in humble circumstances, and of whom he was the only surviving child, seem to have looked upon him with peculiar fondness—especially his mother, who regarded him as a special gift, an answer to her prayers, and one who was intended to be more than ordinarily useful in the world. His childhood was watched over with peculiar solicitude; and their hopes were still further excited, and their confidence strengthened, by the sweetness and docility of his disposition. Piety marked his earliest years, and his attention to his books was unwearied; circumstances which induced his parents, amidst many difficulties, to keep him at school, till he found the means of putting himself in the way of attaining greater proficiency in the city of Edinburgh, where, by attending upon, and assisting in their studies, the children of persons more wealthy than himself, he was enabled to prosecute his own. After having attended the university there, however, he was denied laureation, in consequence of refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and was under the necessity of prosecuting his studies more privately, and in the best manner he could. In the mean time, he was a diligent attendant on the secret meetings of the persecuted presbyterians, and took a deep interest in the questions which at that time were so keenly agitated among, and at length so widely divided, that unfortunate party. Of the unfaithfulness of the indulged ministers in general, he had long had strong impressions, and these seem to have been confirmed, by hearing the testimony, and witnessing the martyrdom, of Mr Donald Cargill, on the 27th of July, 1681; an event which determined him to attach himself to the small remnant which adhered to the principles of that sincere and excellent Christian.

It was on the death of Mr Cargill, when, being deprived of public ordinances, this portion of the sufferers formed themselves into particular societies, united in one general correspondence, in which Mr Renwick was particularly active. In the month of October, he held a conference with a number of the

more influential of the party, concerning the testimonies of some of the martyrs lately executed ; when, it is said, he refreshed them much, by showing them how much he was grieved to hear these martyrs disdainfully spoken of ; how much he was offended with some that attended the curates, pled for the paying of cess, and for owning and defending the authority of the tyrant, and how much he longed to see a formal testimony lifted up against all those, with their attendant defections. On the 15th of December, in the same year in which Mr Cargill suffered, his adherents held their first general meeting, at which was drawn up the paper, known by the name of The Lanark Declaration, from the place where it was proclaimed, on the 12th day of January, 1682. Mr Renwick was not the writer of this document, some parts of which he always allowed to be " inconsiderately worded ;" but he was one of the party who proclaimed it, and at the same time burnt the test, and the act of succession of the duke of York to the crown.

The boldness of this declaration, which embraced both the Rutherglen and Sanguar declarations, emitted in the years 1679 and 1680, and declared the whole acts of the government of Charles Stuart, from his restoration in 1660, down to that day, to be utterly illegal, as emanating from a pure usurpation upon the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and many of them, in their own nature, tyrannical, and cruel in the highest degree, astonished their enemies, and astounded not a few of their best friends, who, to correct the unfavourable reports concerning them, which, through the malice of their enemies, were circulated among the churches of the low countries, found it necessary to commission Gordon of Earlston to the United Provinces, to state their case as it actually stood, and to solicit that compassion and sympathy which was denied them by their own countrymen. Earlston met with a very favourable reception ; and it was proposed, seeing the universities in Scotland were closed against all such as were desirous of maintaining a clear conscience, to have students educated under the eye of these churches at their universities, who might be ordained to the work of the ministry, and that there should thus be a succession of faithful labourers kept up for the benefit of the present and of future generations. This proposal was at once embraced by the societies, as the only probable method of being supplied with a dispensation of gospel ordinances ; and Mr Renwick, along with some others, was accordingly sent over, and admitted into the university of Groningen. After he had attended six months, the progress he had made was such, together with the urgency of the case, (for the societies had not so much as one preacher all this time,) that it was thought proper he should be ordained, and sent back to his native land. He was, accordingly, after no little trouble, through the interest of Mr Robert Hamilton, who was well known there, ordained by the classes of Groningen ; when, longing to employ any little talent he possessed for the advancement of the cause of Christ, and the benefit of his suffering people, he proceeded to Rotterdam, intending to avail himself of the first opportunity of a ship going for Scotland. Finding a ship ready to sail, Mr Renwick embarked at the Brill for his native country ; but, after being some time on board, he was so much annoyed by some profane passengers, that he left the vessel, and entered another that was going to Ireland. In consequence of a violent storm, the vessel put into the harbour of Rye, in England, where he was in no small danger from the noise and disturbance created at the time by the Rye-house plot. He, however, got safely off ; and, after a tedious and stormy passage, was landed at Dublin. In a short time he embarked for Scotland, and with no little difficulty and danger, succeeded in landing on the west coast of that kingdom, where he commenced those weary wanderings which were to

close only with his capture and death. His first public sermon was delivered in the moss of Darnead, in the month of September, 1683, where he was cordially and kindly received by a poor and persecuted people, who had lost, for the gospel's sake, whatever they possessed of temporal enjoyments, and were ready for that consideration to peril their lives. On this occasion, for his own vindication, and for the satisfaction of his hearers, he gave an account of his call to the ministry, and declared his adherence to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland. He, at the same time, gave them his opinion upon the particular questions which were agitating the minds of men at the time; stating particularly what class of ministers and professors he was willing to hold fellowship with, and also that with which he could not. In this statement, as he studied to be plain and particular, he mentioned several names, which gave great offence to some, and was employed with much assiduity to excite prejudices, and create slanders, against both his person and ministry; and, with all the other hardships of his lot, he was pursued everywhere by misrepresentation and calumny.

Amidst so much clamour of friends and of enemies, he soon attracted the notice of the council, to whom nothing was so terrible as field-preaching. He was speedily denounced as a traitor, and all who followed him were pursued as abettors of rebellion. No house that he entered, if it was known, escaped pillage; and no one who heard him, if he could be found, escaped punishment. Nothing can be conceived more desperate than his situation; not daring to venture abroad, yet finding no place of rest, except in the most remote and inaccessible retreats. Called upon nightly to confer, to preach, to pray, to baptize, and to catechise, with no better accommodation than the cavern of the rock, an excavation in the moss, or, at the best, a ruined and deserted shepherd's shiel, where a fire of sticks or heath, and a scanty morsel brought from afar by the hands of children, were his greatest luxuries; yet he prosecuted his labours with remarkable success, greatly increasing the number of his followers in the course of a few months.

In the succeeding year, 1684, his difficulties and discouragements were considerably increased. The revilings of those who should have been his helpers, became more bitter, and the vigilance of his persecutors more unremitting. Often was he pursued for days and nights together, and to all appearance left without the possibility of escape; yet he still escaped as if by miracle. Enraged beyond measure at the increase of his followers, and their want of success in so many attempts to apprehend him, the council, in the month of September in this year, issued out letters of intercommuning against him; which, reducing the whole body of the sufferers to the most incredible hardships, drove them, between madness and despair, to publish, in the month of October following, their apologetical declaration; wherein, after stating their abhorrence of the idea of taking the lives of such as differ from them in opinion, they declared their firm persuasion of their right, from the word of God, and fundamental laws of the kingdom, to defend themselves in the exercise of their religion: and, after naming the persons whom they supposed to be their chief persecutors, and whom they threatened with immediate and full retaliation, they add, "Now, let not any think, our God assisting us, we will be so slack-handed in time coming, to put matters in execution as heretofore we have been, seeing we are bound faithfully and valiantly to maintain our covenants and the cause of Christ. Therefore, let all these foresaid persons be admonished of their hazard. And particularly all ye intelligencers, who, by your voluntary informations, endeavour to render us up to the enemies' hands, that our blood may be shed—for by such courses ye both endanger your immortal souls, if repentance prevent

not, seeing God will make inquisition for shedding the precious blood of his saints, whatever be the thoughts of men; and also your bodies, seeing ye render yourselves actually and maliciously guilty of our blood, whose innocence the Lord knoweth. However, we are sorry at our very hearts, that any of you should choose such courses, either with bloody Doeg, to shed our blood, or with the flattering Ziphites, to inform persecutors where we are to be found. So we say again, we desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses; for the sinless necessity of self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished. Call to your remembrance, all that is in peril, is not lost; and all that is delayed, is not forgiven. Therefore, expect to be dealt with, as ye deal with us, so far as our power can reach; not because we are incited by a sinful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries; but, mainly, because by our fall, reformation suffers damage, yea, the power of godliness, through ensnaring flatteries, and terrible threatening will thereby be brought to a very low ebb, the consciences of many more dreadfully surrendered, and profanity more established and propagated. And as upon the one hand, we have here declared our purposes anent malicious injurers of us; so, upon the other hand, we do hereby beseech and obtest all you who wish well to Zion, to show your good-will towards us, by acting with us, and in your places and stations, according to your abilities, counselling, encouraging, and strengthening our hands, for this great work of holding up the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ. Think not that in anywise you are called to lie by neutral and indifferent, especially in such a day; for we are a people, by holy covenants dedicated unto the Lord, in our persons, lives, liberties, and fortunes, for defending and promoting this glorious work of reformation, notwithstanding all opposition that is or may be made thereunto, yea and sworn against all neutrality and indifferency in the Lord's matters. And, moreover, we are fully persuaded that the Lord, who now hideth his face from the house of Jacob, will suddenly appear, and bring light out of darkness, and perfect strength out of weakness, and cause judgment return again unto righteousness."

When this declaration was first proposed, Mr Renwick was averse to it, fearing that it might be followed by bad effects: nor were his fears disappointed. A reward of five hundred merks was offered for every person who owned the declaration, or rather who would not disown it upon oath. No person was allowed to travel without a pass, who was above the age of sixteen; many were shot instantly in the fields, if they refused to take, even at the hands of a common trooper, the oath of abjuration; others, refusing the oath, were brought in, sentenced, and executed. On all which accounts, Mr Renwick was often heard to say, he wished from his heart that that declaration had never been published. The year 1685 did not at all better his situation; he was still persecuted with the utmost fury, yet he ventured, in the month of May that year, to the market cross of Sanquhar, accompanied by two hundred men, where he published a declaration against the succession of James, duke of York, called from that circumstance, the Sanquhar Declaration. Refusing to concur with Argyle, who this year made an unsuccessful attempt from Holland, a division arose among his followers, several of whom withdrew from the societies, and became, both by word and pen, his bitter traducers; and in addition to all his other afflictions, when he had put his life in his hand, as it were, to dispense the ordinances of the gospel to the bereaved people, he was met even by those who had been his friends, with protestations against him, taken in the name of large districts of the country. Even Mr Peden was, by the multiplied slanders of his enemies, spirited up against him, and was not re-

conciled, till after a conversation with him, when he was upon his death-bed, and unable to repair the injury. In the midst of these multiplied discouragements, he was cheered by the assistance and fellowship of Mr David Hunston, a minister from Ireland, and Mr Alexander Shields, a preacher who had made his escape from London, both of whom espoused the same testimony, and periled their lives along with him. It was but a short time, however, that he enjoyed the aid of these intrepid men; Mr Hunston being necessitated to go to Ireland, and Mr Shields going over to Holland, to superintend the printing of the informatory vindication. It was in this year that James VII., for the encouragement of the catholics, set aside the penal statutes, and gave out his indulgences, allowing all to worship in their own way, except in barns or in fields; which, to the disgrace of the Scottish church, was embraced with abundance of gratulatory addresses by her whole body, ministers, and members, Mr Renwick and his followers excepted. This was a new addition to his troubles, and opened the mouths of complying professors still more against him. About this time, too, he became infirm in body, could neither walk afoot nor ride, and was carried to his preaching places in the fields with great difficulty; though, in the time of preaching, he felt nothing of his weakness. The pursuit after him was now doubly hot, and an hundred pounds sterling was offered for him, either dead or alive. Coming to Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1688, to give in a testimony to the synod of tolerated ministers, against the toleration which they had accepted, and having delivered it into the hands of Mr Kennedy, their moderator, he passed over to Fife, where he continued preaching at different places, till the end of January, when he returned to Edinburgh, and took up his lodgings in the house of a friend on the Castle hill, a dealer in uncustomed goods. A party coming to search for these, discovered Mr Renwick, and apprehended him. He did not, however, surrender himself into the hands of his enemies without resistance. He drew out and fired a pocket pistol, and having thus made an opening among his assailants, escaped into the Castle wynd, and ran towards the head of the Cowgate; but, one of the party having hit him a violent stroke on the breast with a long staff as he passed out, he was staggered, and fell several times, and having lost his hat, was laid hold of by a person in the street, who probably knew nothing of the man, or the crimes laid against him. Being taken to the guard-house, he was there kept for a considerable time, and suffered much from the insolence of some that came to see him. The captain of the guard seeing him of little stature, and of a comely countenance, exclaimed, "Is this the boy which the whole nation has been troubled about?" After undergoing examination before the council, he was committed close prisoner, and put in irons. Before he received his indictment he was carried before the lord chancellor, Tarbet, and examined upon his owning the authority of James VII., the paying of cess, carrying arms at field meetings, &c.; upon all of which he delivered his mind with such faithfulness, freedom, and composure of mind as astonished all that were present. He was examined upon the paying of cess, in consequence of the notes of two sermons on the subject being found upon him when he was taken. Among these notes were also some memorandums of names, some in full, and some with merely the initials; all these, to avoid threatened torture, he explained with the utmost freedom, knowing that the persons were already as obnoxious as anything he could say would make them. This ingenuousness on his part had a wonderful effect in calming their rage against him, and Tarbet mildly asked him, what persuasion he was of; to which he replied, of the protestant presbyterian. He was then asked how he differed from other presbyterians who had accepted his majesty's toleration, owned his authority, &c., &c.?

to which he answered, that he adhered to the old presbyterian principles (which all were obliged by the covenants to maintain) as generally professed by the church and nation, from the year 1640 to 1660, from which some had apostatized for a little liberty (they knew not how short) as they themselves had done for a little honour. Tarbet admitted that these were the presbyterian principles, and that all presbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the courage. Mr Renwick was tried, February 8, before the high court of justiciary, upon an indictment which charged him with denying the king's authority, owning the covenants, refusing to pay cess, and maintaining the lawfulness of defensive arms; and, upon his confession, was condemned to die. The day fixed for his execution was the 11th, but it was postponed to the 17th, in the hope that he would gratify the court by petitioning for a pardon, which, it has never been doubted, would have been gladly extended to him. With the constancy which had marked his whole life, he refused to do so, and was accordingly executed, being the last person who suffered a judicial death for religion's sake in Scotland.

RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, an elegant miscellaneous writer, and professor of humanity in the university of Glasgow, was born, October 1, 1743, at Aberfoyle, of which parish his father, James Richardson, was minister. After a course of Latin and Greek under the parish schoolmaster, he was placed in his fourteenth year at the university of Glasgow, where he pursued his studies under professors Muirhead and Moor, and distinguished himself by his extraordinary diligence and capacity. Even at this early period of his life, he was noted for the composition of verses, which, if not of any high positive merit, were at least thought to display an uncommon degree of taste for so boyish a writer. He thus recommended himself to the friendship of the professors, and at the same time formed an intimacy with Messrs Foulis, the eminent printers, whose notice he is said to have first attracted by the eagerness with which he bade, at one of their sales, for a copy of Marcus Antoninus. When he had finished the usual course of languages and philosophy, and had taken the degree of master of arts, he began the study of theology, with the intention of becoming a clergyman. He had attended nearly three sessions, when the design was laid aside, in consequence of his being appointed tutor to the late Lord Cathcart and his brother, then about to go to Eton. At the latter place he spent two years, after which he accompanied his pupils, with their father Lord Cathcart, to St Petersburg, whither his lordship was sent as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. He remained in the Russian capital from 1768 till 1772, during which time he acted also as secretary to Lord Cathcart. In the latter year, he returned with his only surviving pupil to the university of Glasgow, and before the commencement of the ensuing session, by the interest of Lord Cathcart, who was Lord Rector of the college, was chosen to succeed professor Muirhead in the chair of humanity, the duties of which he performed without any intermission till his death in 1814.

The remaining history of Mr Richardson is the history of his works. His first publication was a small volume, entitled, "Poems, chiefly rural," which appeared in 1774; the next was his "Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of some of Shakspeare's Remarkable Characters," which appeared early in the succeeding year. The latter volume, containing analyses of the characters of Macbeth, Hamlet, Jacques, and Imogen, was followed up, in 1784, by a sequel, containing Essays on the characters of Richard III., King Lear, and Timon of Athens; and some time after by a third volume, adverting to Sir John Falstaff, and containing various other critical speculations upon the writings of Shakspeare. The whole were united in one volume in 1797, and

have been frequently reprinted. The chief other works of professor Richardson are—"Anecdotes of the Russian Empire;" "The Indians, a Tragedy;" "The Maid of Lochlin, a lyrical Drama, with other Poems;" "The Philanthrope," a periodical essayist, which appeared in London in 1797. He also contributed to Gilbert Stuart's Edinburgh Magazine and Review, and to the Mirror and Lounger. He wrote the life of professor Arthur, prefixed to that gentleman's works, and "An Essay on Celtic Superstitions," appended to the Rev. Dr Graham's inquiry into the authenticity of the poems of Ossian. An Essay on Figurative Language, and other works, were left at his death in manuscript.

The genius of professor Richardson was more elegant than strong: he was rather fitted to produce a tasteful dissertation or an ingenious inquiry, than a work of nervous and original character. Hence his works are now put aside in a great measure by those of succeeding writers. In his professional character he enjoyed a high degree of reputation, and, in private life, his character was singularly amiable. He shone in conversation, at a time when conversation was more an art than it now is. From his earliest years to the period of his death, he cherished the best principles of religion and morality.

After a short but severe illness, he died on the 3rd of November, 1814, in the seventy-second year of his age.

ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER, of Strowan, a distinguished Highland chief and poet, was the second son of the preceding laird of Strowan, who bore the same name, by Marion, daughter of general Baillie of Letham, and was born about the year 1670. He was educated, with the design of his becoming a clergyman, under John Menzies, regent in the university of St Andrews, who aided the influence of hereditary associations in inspiring him with a zealous attachment to the persons and principles of the Stuarts. His father died in 1688, after having enjoined upon him, with his latest breath, that he should never forget the loyal example of his ancestors; and as his elder brother only survived his father a few months, he fell into the family inheritance at a very early age, immediately before the Revolution. When Dundee raised the clans in the ensuing year, on behalf of the exiled king James, young Strowan joined him with his men, but does not appear to have been present at the battle of Killcranky. He was taken prisoner in September, and put under honourable confinement at Perth; but was soon after liberated, in exchange for the laird of Pollock.

Being now attainted and deprived of his estate, he joined the court of the expatriated monarch at St Germain's, where he lived for several years, chiefly supported by remittances from his friends in Scotland. He also served one or two campaigns in the French army. In 1703, queen Anne having promised him a remission of his attainder and forfeiture, he returned to Scotland; and though, from some unexplained cause, the remission never passed the seals, he does not appear to have found any difficulty in obtaining possession of his estates, or any danger to his person in a residence within the seas of Britain. Unwarned by the misfortunes which had flowed from his first military enterprise, he joined the earl of Mar in 1715, with between four and five hundred men, and took a very active part in the whole enterprise. He seized the castle of Weem, belonging to a whig gentleman, Menzies of Weem; was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he was taken prisoner, but rescued; and with great reluctance yielded to the order for the dispersion of his clan, which was issued to him, in common with the other chiefs, at the departure of the unfortunate chevalier and his generalissimo from the country. Strowan was soon after taken prisoner in the Highlands, but making his escape from a party of

soldiers who were escorting him to Edinburgh castle, again proceeded to France, to spend another period of poverty and exile. Long ere this time, he had gained the esteem of his party both at home and abroad, by his poetical effusions, which were chiefly of the class of political pasquils, and also by his pleasing and facetious manners. Having received an excellent education, and seen much of the world, he exhibits in his writings no trace of the rudeness which prevailed in his native land. He shows nothing of even that kind of homeliness which then existed in Lowland Scotland. His language is pure English; and his ideas, though abundantly licentious in some instances, bear a general resemblance to those of the Drydens, the Roscommons, and the Priors, of the southern part of the island. Ker of Kersland, who saw him at Rotterdam in 1716, speaks of him "as a considerable man among the Highlanders, a man of excellent sense, and every way a complete gentleman." He seems to have also been held in great esteem by both James II. and his unfortunate son, whom he had served in succession. By the intercessions of his sister with the reigning sovereign, he was permitted to return home in 1726, and in 1731, had his attainder reversed. The estates had in the mean time been restored to the sister in life-rent, and to his own heirs male in fee, but passing over himself. He, nevertheless, entered upon possession; and hence, in 1745, was able, a third time, to lend his territorial and hereditary influence to the aid of a Stuart. He met prince Charles on his way through Perthshire; and, on being presented, said, "Sir, I devoted my youth to the service of your grandfather, and my manhood to that of your father; and now I am come to devote my old age to your royal highness." Charles, well acquainted with his history, folded the old man in his arms, and wept. The ancient chief was unable, on this occasion, to take a personal concern in the enterprise, and, as his clan was led by other gentlemen, he escaped the vengeance of the government. He died in peace, at his house of Carie, in Rannoch, April 18, 1749, in the eighty-first year of his age.

A volume of poems, by Strowan, was subsequently published surreptitiously, by means of a menial servant, who had possessed himself of his papers. It contains many pieces, characterized by the licentious levity which then prevailed in the discourse of gentlemen, and only designed by their author as another kind of conversation with his friends. While he is chargeable, then, in common with his contemporaries, with having given expression to impure ideas, he stands clear of the fault of having disseminated them by means of the press.

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, the historian of Scotland and Charles V., was born in the manse of the parish of Borthwick, Mid Lothian, in the year 1721. His father, also named William, was at first minister of that parish, and finally of the Old Gray Friars' church, Edinburgh; his mother was Eleanor Pitcairne, daughter of David Pitcairne, Esq. of Dreghorn. By his father, he was descended from the Robertsons of Gladney, in the county of Fife, a branch of the ancient house of Strowan. Dr Robertson received the first rudiments of his education at the school of Balkeith, under the tuition of Mr Leslie, then a celebrated teacher. In 1733, he removed with his father's family to Edinburgh, and, towards the end of that year, commenced his course of academical study. From this period till 1759, when he published his *Scottish History*, there occurred nothing beyond the natural progress of events in the life of a young man devoted to the Scottish church as a profession. During this long space of time, he was silently pursuing his studies, and labouring in retirement and obscurity on that work, which was afterwards to bring both fame and fortune to his humble door. Yet, though he thus permitted so large a portion of his life to pass without making any effort to distinguish himself, it was not be-

cause he was not desirous of an honourable distinction amongst men; but because he had wisely determined to do something worthy of a lasting reputation, and to do it deliberately, to secure, in short, a firm footing, before he stretched out his hand to seize the golden fruit of popular applause. That he was early imbued with literary ambition, and that of the most ardent kind, is, notwithstanding the long obscurity to which he was content to submit, sufficiently evident from the motto which he was in the habit of prefixing to his commonplace books, while only in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age. The motto was, *Vita sine literis mors est*; a sentiment which adhered to him through life.

Having completed his studies at the university, he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Dalkeith in 1741, and in 1743 he was presented to the living of Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, by the earl of Hopetoun. This appointment, came opportunely; for soon after he obtained it, his father and mother died within a few hours of each other, leaving a family of six daughters and a younger brother, almost wholly dependent upon him for support. With that generosity of disposition and warmth of affection, which are not deterred by personal considerations from discharging an imperative duty, he instantly invited his father's family to his humble residence at Gladsmuir, where, we are credibly informed, his professional income hardly exceeded £60 a-year. Nor did his benevolence stop here. He undertook the education of his sisters, and on their account delayed a matrimonial union which he had long desired, but which he did not carry into effect until he saw them all respectably settled in the world. This accomplished, he, in 1751, married his cousin, Miss Mary Nisbet, daughter of the reverend Mr Nisbet, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Previously to this, a remarkable instance of the enthusiasm of his disposition, and of the warmth of his patriotic feelings, occurred. When the capital of Scotland was threatened by the Highland army in 1745, Dr Robertson hastened into the city, and joined the ranks of the volunteers, who had been called up for its defence; and, when it was resolved to surrender the town without resistance, he was one of a small band who proceeded to Haddington, where general Cope then lay, and made offer of their services to that commander. The general, fortunately for Dr Robertson and his party, declined to admit them into his disciplined ranks, alleging that their want of that essential qualification might throw his men into disorder; and they thus escaped the dangers and disgrace which afterwards befell his army at Prestonpans. This rebuff terminated the historian's experience of military life. He returned to the discharge of the sacred duties of his calling, and to the peaceful enjoyment of his literary pursuits. In his parish he was exceedingly beloved. The amenity of his manners, the purity and uprightness of his conduct, had secured him the esteem and veneration of all; while the eloquence and elegant taste which he displayed in his sermons, procured him a high degree of respect from the neighbouring clergy. These qualifications as a preacher, he had been at much pains to acquire, and he had early aimed at introducing a more refined taste, and a more persuasive eloquence, into pulpit oratory, than were then generally to be found. With this view he had, during the last two or three years of his attendance at college, maintained a connexion with a society, whose objects were to cultivate the arts of elocution, and to acquire the habit of extemporary debate. Dr Robertson himself had the principal share in forming this society, and he was fortunate in the selection of its members, the greater part of them having afterwards arrived at distinction in the different walks of life which they pursued.

The first of Dr Robertson's publications was a sermon which he preached in the year 1755, before the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

This sermon possesses a singular degree of merit, and exhibits all the felicities of composition and strength of reasoning, for which his after productions are so remarkable. That he himself had a favourable opinion of this sermon, appears from a letter written by him to his son-in-law, Mr John Russell, on June 16, 1788, along with which he had sent him, "as a monument of his friendship and attachment," a very handsomely bound copy of his works, as "I wish you to possess them in their most perfect form, as I purpose they should be transmitted to posterity;" and he adds, "my solitary sermon, naked as it came into the world, accompanies its well-drest brothers, but though the least of my works, I would not have you esteem it the last in merit."

A few years afterwards, he made his appearance in the debates of the General Assembly, where his eloquence acquired for him the ascendancy which he long maintained as a leader in the church courts. It is remarkable that one of the first uses he made of his influence in the General Assembly, was to defend his co-presbyter Home from the censures of the church, for his having written the tragedy of Douglas. Dr Robertson could, indeed, scarcely have done less, after having himself taken part in the rehearsal of the piece, in common with Blair and Carlyle, as has already been narrated in our memoir of Home. He exerted himself warmly in behalf of his peccant brother; and it is allowed that his arguments and eloquence had a great effect in softening the vengeance of the General Assembly. As the play-going portion of the public sympathized but little in the feelings of the clergy on this subject, and felt besides a strong prejudice in favour of Mr Home, these efforts of Dr Robertson were exceedingly grateful to that party, amongst whom his defence had the effect of acquiring for him an extensive popularity.

In the mean time, his "History of Scotland, during the Reigns of Mary and James VI.," which, in the midst of all his other avocations, he had been noiselessly, but assiduously bringing forward, approached to a close, and he was about to commit to the caprice of popular taste and opinion, the labours and the hope of years. On the final completion of that work, he proceeded to London, to make arrangements regarding its publication; and in February, 1759, it appeared. The effect which it produced, was instantaneous and extraordinary. Letters of congratulation, of admiration, and of praise, poured in upon its author from all quarters, and many of them from the most eminent men of the time, all outvying each other in the language of panegyric and compliment. Nor was it praise alone that attended his literary success; the work cleared to its author no less a sum than £600; preferment also immediately followed, and changed at once the whole complexion of his fortunes. While his work was going through the press, he had received a presentation to one of the churches of Edinburgh, to which he removed with his family; and in the same year in which the work was published, he was appointed chaplain of Stirling castle; in two years afterwards, he was nominated one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary for Scotland; in the following year, he was elected principal of the university of Edinburgh; and in two years more, appointed by the king, as historiographer for Scotland, with a salary of two hundred pounds a-year. From being an obscure country clergyman, he was now become one of the most conspicuous men in the kingdom. His society and correspondence were courted by the noble and the wealthy, and his self love was flattered by encomiums and eulogiums from the dignified and learned.¹

¹ His friend, Dr Carlyle, thus sarcastically remarks the rush of honours with which his merits were rewarded, in a letter to the reverend Thomas Hepburn, (author of a curious and clever *jeu d'esprit*, entitled "Mago-Pico,") dated Musselburgh, Sep. 5, 1763:—"Robertson has managed with great address. He is principal, chaplain, minister, historiographer, and his-

Some of his advisers, in the warmth of their zeal, thinking that the Scottish church was too limited a field for a man of his talents, proposed to him to seek in the English church for rewards befitting his high merits. Into this proposal, however, Dr Robertson did not enter, but continued to abide by both the country and the religion of his fathers; a line of conduct consistent with the purity and dignity of his character.

The success of his "History of Scotland," now urged him on to further efforts, and he lost no time in looking out for another subject to work upon. After some deliberation, and carefully weighing the merits of several, he at length fixed upon a "History of the Reign of Charles V." This work, which appeared in 1769, in three volumes quarto, still further increased the reputation of its author,² and was received with equally flattering marks of approbation as his Scottish history. Hume, his contemporary and intimate friend, and who, superior to the low jealousy which would have seized upon a mean mind, on witnessing the success of a rival historian, had always been amongst the first to come forward and acknowledge his merits, thus speaks of the work, as it passed through his hands in sheets direct from the printing office: "They even excel, and I think in a sensible degree, your History of Scotland. I propose to myself great pleasure, in being the only man in England, during some months, who will be in the situation of doing you justice; after which, you may certainly expect that my voice will be drowned in that of the public." Mr Hume was not mistaken in this anticipation. Congratulatory and complimentary letters again flowed in upon the historian from all quarters, and his fame not only spread rapidly wherever the language in which he wrote was understood, but by a felicitous translation of his Charles V., by M. Suard, he became equally well known throughout all France.

Previously to his undertaking the Life of Charles V., Dr Robertson had been urgently entreated by his friends, and had even the wishes of the monarch conveyed to him on the subject, to undertake a history of England. This, though promised the support of government while he should be engaged in the work, he declined, from motives of delicacy towards his friend Mr Hume, who was already employed on a history of that kingdom. He was afterwards, however, prevailed upon to entertain the idea, from the consideration that his work would not appear for many years after Mr Hume's, and that it would necessarily be so different as to have an entirely separate and distinct claim on public favour, without any encroachment on the portion due to the merits of Mr Hume. The work, however, was never undertaken, nor is it now known what were the causes which prevented it. His biographer, Mr Dugald Stewart, conjectures that the resignation of lord Bute, who had always been a warm and steady

torian; that is to say, he has £50 a-year, and a house certain, besides what he can make by his books. It was taken for granted that he was to resign his charge, on being appointed historiographer with £200 salary; but that he will do at his leisure. It is also supposed by his patrons, that he is to write the history of Britain in ten volumes quarto. This also, I presume (dreadful task!) he will execute at his leisure.

"Honest David Home [Hume], with the heart of all others that rejoices most at the prosperity of his friends, was certainly a little hurt with this last honour conferred on Robertson. A lucky accident has given him relief. The earl of Hertford is appointed ambassador to France; not very capable himself, they have loaded him with an insignificant secretary, one Charles Bunbury, who, for the sake of pleasure, more than the thousand a-year, solicited for the office. Hertford knew David, and some good genius prompted to ask him to go along and manage the business. It is an honourable character—he will see his friends in France; if he tires he can return when he pleases. Bunbury will probably tire first, and then David will become secretary!"—*Thorpe's Catalogue of Autographs*, 1833.

² In consequence of the great success of his History of Scotland, Dr Robertson received for Charles V. from the booksellers, no less than £4,500, then supposed to be the largest sum ever paid for the copyright of a single book.

friend of Dr Robertson, might have contributed to alter his views with regard to the writing a history of England; but he acknowledges his inability to discover any certain or positive reason for the interruption of its execution.

Eight years after the publication of Charles V., (1777,) Dr Robertson produced the History of America, a work which fully maintained the author's high reputation, and procured him a repetition of all those gratifying marks of both public and private approbation which had attended his former works. One of these was his election as an honorary member by the Royal Academy of History in Madrid. This learned body at the same time appointed one of its members to translate the work into Spanish, and a considerable progress was made in the translation, when the jealousy of the Spanish government interfered to prevent it from proceeding any further.

The reputation of Dr Robertson, however, did not rest alone upon his writings. His powerful and persuasive eloquence had gained him an influence in the General Assembly, which intimately and conspicuously associated his name with the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. He introduced and established a system of subordination throughout the various gradations of ecclesiastical judicatories, which had not been before exerted, and the neglect of which had given rise to many unbecoming scenes in the settling of ministers; scenes deemed at once highly derogatory to the dignity of the supreme court, and subversive of all order in the church government of the kingdom.

Of his eloquence, a part of his fame, as his biographer remarks, which must soon rest on tradition only, the latter thus speaks: "I shall not be accused of exaggeration, when I say, that, in *some* of the most essential qualifications of a speaker, he was entitled to rank with the first names which have in our times adorned the British senate." This is high praise; but when it is recollected who he is that bestows it, there is little reason to doubt its justice.

In his preface to his History of America, Dr Robertson had mentioned his intention of resuming the subject; and it is known that, but for the colonial war, which was now raging, he would have commenced a history of the British empire in that continent. Having abandoned this design, he looked out for some other subject worthy of his pen. Mr Gibbon recommended to him a history of the Protestants in France, a subject which has since been illustrated by Dr M'Crie, and several other persons suggested the History of Great Britain, from the Revolution to the Accession of the House of Hanover. It appears from a letter to Dr Waddilour, dean of Rippon, dated July, 1778, that he had made up his mind to encounter the responsibilities of such a task: but he very early abandoned it, in consequence of a correspondence with his friend, Mr James Macpherson, who, three years before, had published a history of the same reigns, and whose feelings, he found, must be severely injured by his attempting a rival work. As he was now approaching his sixtieth year, it is probable that he was by no means eager to commence a new subject of study. His circumstances, too, were independent; he had acquired fame sufficient to gratify his most ambitious hopes: and thus were removed two of the greatest incentives to literary exertion. His constitution, besides, was considerably impaired by a long, sedentary, and studious life; and he probably conceived that, after having devoted so large a portion of his existence to the instruction and entertainment of others, he had a right to appropriate what remained to himself.

In the year 1780, he retired from the business of the ecclesiastical court, of which he had been so long an ornament, but still continued to discharge the duties of his pastoral office, and that with a diligence, always exemplary, which increased rather than diminished with his growing infirmities.

As long as his health permitted, he preached every Sunday, and continued to do so occasionally till within a few months of his death. In regard to his style of preaching, his nephew, Lord Brougham, in his *Life of the Principal*, contained in his "*Lives of Men of Letters and Science who flourished in the time of George III.*," gives a very interesting account of it from his own personal knowledge; and in particular of a sermon which he heard Dr Robertson preach on November 5, 1788, the celebration of the centenary of the Revolution.

Notwithstanding his resolution to write no more for the public, the Principal was accidentally led to the composition of another work. In perusing major Rennel's "*Memoirs of a Map of Hindostan*," he began to inquire into the knowledge which the ancients had of that country, solely for his own amusement and information. His ideas, as he himself remarks, gradually extended, and became more interesting, till he at length imagined that the result of his researches might prove amusing and instructive to others. In this way he was led to publish his "*Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India, and the progress of Trade with that Country, prior to the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope*," which appeared in 1791 in quarto. He had in the meanwhile enjoyed several years of good health and honoured leisure, dividing the time which he could spare from his clerical duties between the amusement of reading and the enjoyment of the society of his friends. Immediately, however, on the termination of the above self-imposed labour, his health became materially affected. Strong symptoms of jaundice showed themselves, and laid the foundation of a lingering and fatal illness. At an early stage of this disease, he was impressed with the belief that his death was not far distant; but, like his great contemporary Hume, he contemplated its approach, not only without terror, but with cheerfulness and complacency. In the latter part of his illness he was removed to Grange House, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in the vain hope that he might be benefited by the free air of the country. He was still, however, able to enjoy the beauties of the rural scenery around him, and that with all the relish of his better days. Early in June, 1793, his increasing weakness confined him to his couch; his articulation began to fail, and on the 11th he died, in the seventy-first year of his age.

Dr Robertson's talents were not precocious. The early part of his career was wholly undistinguished by any remarkable pre-eminence over his contemporaries; but his mind, though silently and unobtrusively, was yet gradually advancing towards that high intellectual station in which it first attracted the attention of the world. He did not, with that ill-judged precipitancy by which authors have often seriously suffered in their reputation and fortunes, come unfledged before the world. As already remarked, he wisely refrained from stepping into the arena of literary competition until he was completely accoutred for the contest, and the success he met with was one result of this prudence and forethought.

The friendship which subsisted between Dr Robertson and Mr Hume is, perhaps, next to the genius of these great men, the circumstance connected with them most deserving of our admiration. Though both struggling forward in the same path of historical composition, there were not only no mean jealousies in the race, but each might be seen in turn helping forward the other, and a more interesting sight than this cannot readily be conceived. The letters of Mr Hume to Dr Robertson are full of amiable feeling, and of that light, cheerful raillery, in which the historian of England so much delighted to indulge, and which contrasted so pleasingly with the gravity and dignity of his writings. "Next week," he says, in one of these letters, "I am published, and then I expect a constant comparison will be made between Dr Robertson

and Mr Hume. I shall tell you in a few weeks which of these heroes is likely to prevail. Meanwhile, I can inform both of them for their comforts, that their combat is not likely to make half so much noise as that between Broughton and the one-eyed coachman."

Dr Robertson in person was rather above the middle size, with an apparently ordinary degree of physical strength. His eye was intelligent, and his features regular and manly. "He appeared," says his biographer, "to greatest advantage in his complete clerical dress, and was more remarkable for gravity and dignity in discharging the functions of his public stations, than for ease or grace in private society." His moral character was unimpeachable. His manners were mild and conciliating, and all his dispositions amiable. "He was," says Dr Erskine, "temperate, without austerity; condescending and affable, without meanness; and in expense, neither sordid nor prodigal. He could feel an injury, yet bridle his passion; was grave, not sullen; steady, not obstinate; friendly, not officious; prudent and cautious, not timid."

He left behind him three sons and two daughters. The eldest son adopted the profession of the law, and passed through its highest honours. His two younger sons entered the army. His elder daughter was married to Mr Brydone, author of the *Tour in Sicily and Malta*; the youngest, to John Russell, Esq., clerk to the signet. His two younger sons rose to high rank in the army, and the elder of the two especially distinguished himself in India under Lord Cornwallis.¹

In the year 1781, Dr Robertson was elected one of the foreign members of the Academy of Sciences at Padua, and, in 1783, one of the foreign members of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St Petersburg. The empress Catherine was so much delighted with his works, that she presented him, through Dr Rogerson, with a handsome gold enamelled snuff-box, richly set with diamonds. He was the founder of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and exerted himself with his usual zeal, not only in forming the plan of that institution, but in carrying it on after it was established.

ROBISON, (DR) JOHN, an eminent mechanical philosopher, and professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, was the son of John Robison, a merchant in Glasgow, and was born there in the year 1739.² The first part of his education he received at the grammar school of Glasgow, whence he entered as a student of the university of Glasgow so early as the year 1750, and took the degree of master of arts in 1756. What progress he made in his early studies is not known, and in after life he used to speak lightly of his early proficiency, and accuse himself of want of application. In the year following his graduation, he made a proposal to be appointed assistant to Mr Dick, professor of natural philosophy, in place of the son of that gentleman, who had just died; but was considered too young for the important duty. At that time his friends had wished him to study for the church; but, preferring some duty in which his mechanical pursuits might be indulged, he turned his eyes towards London. Professor Dick and Dr Simson sent along with him recommendations to Dr Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, who might have had influence to procure for him the situation of tutor in mathematics and navigation to the

¹ It may further be mentioned, that his niece, Miss Eleanor Syme, the daughter of one of his sisters, was the mother of one of the greatest men of the passing age, Lord Brougham, who wrote the life of his uncle above alluded to; and that Mr Brydone's eldest daughter having married the present Earl of Minto, their second daughter became the wife of Lord John Russell, the eminent constitutional statesman, whose name stands honourably associated with all the great political reforms of the present day.

² Memoir by Professor Playfair: Trans. Royal Society, Edinburgh, vii. 495.

duke of York, younger son of Frederick, prince of Wales, whom there was then some intention of educating for the navy. The plan was given up, and Robison received a severe disappointment, but the event served as his introduction to an excellent friend, admiral Knowles, a gentleman whose son was to have attended the duke on his voyage. Young Mr Knowles' nautical education was not to be given up with that of the duke, and his father perceiving Robison's knowledge of mechanical philosophy, employed him to take charge of the instruction of his son while at sea. Mr Robison sailed from Spithead in 1759, with the fleet, which assisted the land forces in the taking of Quebec. His pupil was a midshipman in the admiral's ship, in which he was himself rated of the same rank. Two years of such active service as followed this expedition enabled Robison to make many observations, and collect a fund of practical knowledge, while he was sometimes usefully employed in making surveys. On his return on the third of August, he was a sufferer from the sea scurvy, which had disabled the greater part of the crew. At this time Mr Robison seems to have had a surfeit of a sailor's life, one which, however pleasing for a limited time, as serving to exemplify his favourite studies, possessed perhaps few charms as a profession, to a man of studious habits. He intended to resume the discarded study of theology; but an invitation from admiral Knowles to live with him in the country, and assist in his experiments, prevailed. "What these experiments were," says Mr Robison's biographer, "is not mentioned; but they probably related to ship-building, a subject which the admiral had studied with great attention." He had not been thus situated many months, when his young friend and pupil lieutenant Knowles, was appointed to the command of the *Peregrine* sloop of war of 20 guns, and probably from a passion for the sea recurring after recovery from his disorder, and a residence in the country, Robison accompanied him. At this period his ambition seems to have been limited to the situation of purser to his friend's vessel. On his return from a voyage, during which he visited Lisbon before the traces of the great earthquake had been effaced, he again took up his residence with admiral Knowles. By his patron he was soon afterwards recommended to lord Anson, then first lord of the admiralty, who conceived him a fit person to take charge of the chronometer constructed, after many years of patient labour, by Mr Harrison, on a trial voyage to the West Indies, in which its accuracy was to be tried, at the suggestion of the Board of Longitude. On the return, which was hastened by the dread of a Spanish invasion of St Domingo, Mr Robison suffered all the hardships of the most adventurous voyage, from the rudder being broken in a gale of wind to the ship's catching fire, and being with difficulty extinguished. The result of the observation was satisfactory, the whole error from first setting sail, on a comparison with observations at Portsmouth, being only $1^{\circ} 53\frac{1}{2}''$, a difference which would produce very little effect in calculations of longitude for ordinary practical purposes. For the reward of his services Mr Robison had made no stipulation, trusting to the consideration of government; but he was disappointed. Lord Anson was in his last illness, admiral Knowles was disgusted with the admiralty and the ministry, and the personal applications unaided by interest which he was obliged to make, were met with a cold silence which irritated his mind. It appears that at this period the reward he sought was the comparatively humble appointment of purser to a ship. In 1763, such a situation was offered to him by lord Sandwich, then first lord of the admiralty, in a vessel of 40 guns, which it is probable that a dawning of brighter prospects prompted him, certainly not to the regret of his admirers, to decline. Notwithstanding his having been connected with a branch of society not generally esteemed propitious to clerical pursuits, he is said to have still felt a lingering

regard for the church, and to have adhered to his friends in the navy, solely from the better chance of advancement, because, as his biographer with unquestionable truth observes, "it lay more in the way of the Board of Longitude to help one to promotion in the navy than in the church." He returned to Glasgow, and renewing an acquaintance long since commenced with Dr Black, entered with ardour on the new views in chemistry connected with the existence of latent heat, which his eminent friend was beginning to divulge to the world. He at the same time commenced an intimacy with Mr Watt, and was so far acquainted with his proceedings, as to be able to certify the justice of his claim to those vast improvements in the steam engine, which a singular accident had been the means of suggesting to his genius. At the recommendation of Dr Black, Robison was appointed his successor in the chemical chair of Glasgow, which, in 1766, he had relinquished for that of Edinburgh. After continuing four years in this situation, one of a novel and uncommon character presented itself for his acceptance. The empress of Russia had made a request to the government of Britain, for the service of some able and experienced naval officers to superintend the reformation of her marine. With more liberality than generally characterizes the intercourse of nations, the request was agreed to, and Mr Robison's tried friend, admiral Knowles, was appointed president of the Russian Board of Admiralty. It had been his intention to recommend Robison for the situation of official secretary to the Board, but finding such an office incompatible with the constitution of the Russian Board, he contrived to engage his services to the public, in the capacity of his private secretary, and in the end of December, 1770, both proceeded over land to St Petersburg. For a year after his arrival, he assisted the admiral in forcing on the attention of the Russians such improvements in ship-building, rigging, and navigation, as their prejudices would allow them to be taught by foreigners, backed by the influence of government. Meanwhile he had sedulously studied the Russian language, and in the summer of 1772, the reputation of his accomplishments induced the offer of the vacant mathematical chair attached to the Sea cadet corps of nobles at Cronstadt. On his acceptance of the appointment, his predecessor's salary was doubled, and he was raised to the rank of colonel, an elevation to which he could not step with proper Russian grace, without producing such documents as bore the appearance of evidence to the nobility of his birth. Besides his duties as mathematical professor, he acted in the room of general Politika, who had retired, as inspector-general of the corps; a duty in which he had to inspect the conduct and labours of about forty teachers. He did not long remain in this situation.

In 1773, from the death of Dr Russel, a vacancy occurred in the natural philosophy chair of Edinburgh, which the patrons, at the instigation of principal Robertson, invited Mr Robison to fill. On hearing of this invitation, prospects of a still more brilliant nature were held out to him by the empress: he hesitated for some time, but, being apart from such society as even the more enlightened parts of Russia afforded, he finally preferred the less brilliant, but more pleasing offer from his native country, and in June, 1777, he set sail from Cronstadt to Leith. The empress, on his departure, requested that he would undertake the care of two or three of the cadets, who were to be elected in succession, and promised him a pension of 400 rubles or £80 a-year. The pension was paid for three years, and is supposed to have been discontinued because Robison had not communicated to the Russian government the progressive improvements in British marine education. In the winter of 1774, he commenced his lectures in Edinburgh. "The sciences of mechanics," says his biographer, "hydrodynamics, astronomy, and optics, together with electricity and magnetism, were

the subjects which his lectures embraced. These were given with great fluency and precision of language, and with the introduction of a good deal of mathematical demonstration. His manner was grave and dignified. His views, always ingenious and comprehensive, were full of information, and never more interesting and instructive than when they touched upon the history of science. His lectures, however, were often complained of as difficult and hard to be followed; and this did not, in my opinion, arise from the depth of the mathematical demonstrations, as was sometimes said, but rather from the rapidity of his discourse, which was generally beyond the rate at which accurate reasoning can be easily followed. The singular facility of his own apprehension, made him judge too favourably of the same power in others. To understand his lectures completely, was, on account of the rapidity and the uniform flow of his discourse, not a very easy task, even for men tolerably familiar with the subject. On this account, his lectures were less popular than might have been expected from such a combination of rare talents as the author of them possessed." Mr Robison had exerted himself with zeal in the revival of that association of philosophers, which merged itself into the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and on its being incorporated by royal charter in 1783, he was appointed secretary; an office in which he signalized himself, by attention to the interests of the society. In March, 1786, he read to the society a paper, entitled "Determination of the Orbit and Motion of the Georgium Sidus, directly from Observations." In this paper, he is generally understood by scientific men to have with some haste drawn conclusions for which the limited time during which Herschel's newly discovered planet had been observed by philosophers, did not afford data. His next paper to the society, "On the Motion of Light, as affected by Refracting and Reflecting Substances, which are themselves in Motion," was of more utility to science. In December, 1785, he began to be attacked by a chronic disease, which gradually undermined his health, but did not for some time interrupt his ordinary labours. Twelve volumes of the third and much enlarged edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* had been published, when the editor turned his eyes on Mr Robison, as a person likely to give it lustre from his scientific knowledge. He commenced his contributions with the article "Optics," in 1793, and contributed a variety of useful treatises, till the completion of the work in 1801. His biographer remarks, that "he was the first contributor who was professedly a man of science; and from that time the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ceased to be a mere compilation." The observation must be received with limitations in both its branches. To the Supplement, he contributed the articles "Electricity" and "Magnetism." At the period while he was acquiring fame by his physical researches, he chose to stretch his studies into a branch of knowledge, which he handled with scarcely so much effect. Along with many people, among whom a philosopher is always to be found with regret, a panic that the whole "system," as it was termed, of society, was in progress of demolition by the French revolution, seized on his mind. He strayed from more accordant subjects, to look for the causes of all the confusion, and had the merit of attracting some of the maddened attention of the period, by finding an untrodden path, which led him farther from the highway than any other speculator had ventured. In 1797, he published "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe." This work is now forgotten; and it will serve for little more than amusement to know, that the crimes, so evidently prompted by forcibly carrying the usages and exclusions of a dark age, when the people respected them, into an age when they were not respected, were traced to the machinations of the illuminati and free masons. Professor Robison had the merit of quoting authorities not much read, and in the

inflamed feelings of the period, the secrecy of the sources, instead of proving a *prima facie* objection to the probability that a tissue of open national outrages, prompted by passion, and unguided by pre-arranged motive, could be the consequence of what was so carefully concealed, or rather overlooked, served to inflame the spirit of mystery, which other branches of literature were then fostering; and the book was rapidly sold to the extent of four editions, and was greedily read. In an age which has acquired the power of influencing masses of men by public opinions, secret tenets or intentions do not acquire numerous followers. That there were some grounds in opinion, and even in intention for many of the statements of Mr Robison, may be granted; but a few German enthusiasts, pleased with mysticism, were the only conspirators, and the appalling statements in the works which he used as authorities, were from men still more given to credulity, than the persons of whom they spoke were to mystery.

In 1799, professor Robison was employed in the difficult task of preparing for the press the manuscript lectures and notes of Dr Black, who had just died. "Dr Black," says Robison's biographer, "had used to read his lectures from notes, and these often but very imperfect, and ranged in order by marks and signs only known to himself. The task of editing them was, therefore, difficult, and required a great deal both of time and labour; but was at last accomplished in a manner to give great satisfaction." Meanwhile, however, the discoveries of Dr Black had produced many alterations in chemistry, and the science had assumed a new aspect. Among other things, the new nomenclature of Lavoisier, had been almost universally received, and rendered any work which did not adopt it, antiquated, and comparatively useless. It was supposed that Robison, with some labour, but without any injustice to the labours of his friend, might have adopted it; but he preferred the system in the original: a choice attributed by some to respect for the memory of his friend, and by others to prejudice. He sent a copy of his publication to the emperor of Russia, and received in return a box set in diamonds, and a letter of thanks.

Professor Robison had long intended to digest his researches into a work, to be entitled "Elements of Mechanical Philosophy, being the Substance of a Course of Lectures on that science." The first volume of this work, containing Dynamics and Astronomy, he published in 1804; but he did not live to complete it. In the end of January, 1805, he yielded to the lingering disorder, which had long oppressed his body, before it enervated his mind. His biographer gives the following account of his character. "He possessed many accomplishments rarely to be met with in a scholar, or a man of science. He had great skill and taste in music, and was a performer on several instruments. He was an excellent draughtsman, and could make his pencil a valuable instrument, either of record or invention. When a young man, he was gay, convivial, and facetious, and his *vers de société* flowed, I have been told, easily and with great effect. His appearance and manner were in a high degree favourable and imposing: his figure handsome, and his face expressive of talent, thought, gentleness, and good temper. When I had first the pleasure to become acquainted with him, the youthful turn of his countenance and manners was beginning to give place to the grave and serious cast, which he early assumed; and certainly I have never met with any one whose appearance and conversation were more impressive than his were at that period. Indeed, his powers of conversation were very extraordinary, and, when exerted, never failed of producing a great effect. An extensive and accurate information of particular facts, and a facility of combining them into general and original views, were united in a degree, of which I am persuaded there have been few exam-

ples. Accordingly, he would go over the most difficult subjects, and bring out the most profound remarks, with an ease and readiness which was quite singular. The depth of his observations seemed to cost him nothing: and when he said any thing particularly striking, you never could discover any appearance of the self-satisfaction so common on such occasions. He was disposed to pass quite readily from one subject to another; the transition was a matter of course, and he had perfectly, and apparently without seeking after it, that light and easy turn of conversation, even on scientific and profound subjects, in which we of this island are charged by our neighbours with being so extremely deficient. The same facility, and the same general tone, were to be seen in his lectures and his writings. He composed with singular facility and correctness, but was sometimes, when he had leisure to be so, very fastidious about his own compositions. In the intercourse of his life, he was benevolent, disinterested, and friendly, and of sincere and unaffected piety. In his interpretation of the conduct of others, he was fair and liberal, while his mind retained its natural tone, and had not yielded to the alarms of the French Revolution, and to the bias which it produced."

Mr Robison's various works, printed and unprinted, were, after his death, put into the hands of professor Playfair; but that gentleman finding that he could not devote his time sufficiently to them, they were afterwards published, with notes, by Dr Brewster, in four volumes octavo, 1822. This work consists of some manuscript papers on Projectiles and Corpuscular Action, and the papers which the author prepared for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, abridged of some of their digressions.

ROLLOCK, ROBERT, an early and zealous promoter of Scottish literature, was born in the year 1555. He was nearly related through his mother to the noble family of Livingston. Discovering an early aptitude for letters, he was sent by his father, Mr David Rollock, to the grammar school of Stirling, at that time taught by Mr Thomas Buchanan, nephew to the author of the *History of Scotland*. Under the care of this teacher he continued till he was fit for entering the university, when he was sent to the college of St Salvador, St Andrews. By his docility, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, young Rollock had already engaged the affections of his preceptor, and laid the foundation of a friendship which continued till his death. The possession of these virtues also procured him, in a short time, the particular and favourable notice of the whole university. Having gone through the regular course of four years' study, which was at that time the prescribed period in all the Scottish colleges, and taken out his degree, he was immediately elected professor of philosophy, being then only in the twenty-third year of his age. Here he continued for four years, discharging the duties of his office with singular diligence, and with a success almost without example in Scottish colleges. It was at this time, and long after this, the practice in the Scottish universities, for the same professor to conduct the studies of the same set of students through the whole course; and the remarkable progress of his pupils, with the public applause he received at their laureation, induced the magistrates of Edinburgh to fix upon Mr Rollock as a fit person to open their university, for which they had obtained a charter from King James the previous year. This invitation Mr Rollock was persuaded to accept, and in the beginning of winter 1583, he entered, with all his accustomed zeal upon his laborious office, being the sole teacher, and in his own person comprising the character of principal and professors to the infant establishment. The fame, however, of so celebrated a teacher as Mr Rollock opening a class for philosophy in the newly erected seminary, operated as a charm, and multitudes from all corners of the kingdom hastened to the capital to

take the benefit of his prelections. Having no assistant, Mr Rollock joined all his students at first into one class, which, from the want of preparation on the part of the students, rendered his labours at first of little utility. All the books used, all the lectures delivered, and the whole business of the class was transacted in Latin, without some competent knowledge of which, the student could not possibly make any progress. From a defective knowledge in this respect among the students, Mr Rollock was soon under the necessity of dividing his class into two, with one of which he found it the most profitable mode of proceeding to begin them anew in the rudimental parts of humanity. At the recommendation of Mr Rollock, however, the patrons of the college elected a young man of the name of Duncan Nairn, a second master of the college, who undertook the charge of this first class in the month of November, 1583. Mr Nairn, who was the second professor in the college of Edinburgh, taught his class Latin the first year, Greek the second, there being properly no humanity professor in the university till a number of years after this. The emoluments of office in the new university must have been very moderate, for the students paid no fees, and any funds which had yet been provided were altogether trifling. The town council, however, seem to have been careful of the comfort of the new professors, as they allowed Mr Rollock on the 17th of September, 1583, twenty pounds Scots for his expenses in coming from St Andrews to Edinburgh at the commencement of his regency, and on the 25th of the succeeding month of October, thirty pounds Scots for his services. They also, in the month of November, ordered Robert Rollock, first regent, and Duncan Nairn second, twenty pounds Scots each for boarding till Candlemas, and in the succeeding year a committee was appointed to confer with the former "anent taking up house." It no doubt required all the patronage the city of Edinburgh could bestow, and all the exertions of Rollock and his associate to carry on the seminary successfully with so little means, and in an age of so much ignorance and poverty. Circumstances, too, were greatly against it. In the year 1585, the plague made its appearance in Edinburgh on the fourth day of May, and raged till the succeeding month of January, during which time the city was deserted by all who had the means of leaving it. The university was thus wholly deserted at a time when the students were in the very middle of their course, a circumstance which, considering that it was but the third year of the establishment, must have been highly prejudicial to its interests. The professors, however, returned about the middle of January, and the students, by an order of council, were ordered to be in their places upon the 3d of February. In this same year the national covenant, or confession of faith, was introduced into the college, and tendered to every student. Mr Rollock was also created principal, though he still continued to teach his class. His associate, Duncan Nairn, died the succeeding year, and the council having resolved to have three classes taught, Messrs Adam Colt and Alexander Scrimger were elected in his place.

Mr Rollock continued to teach his private class till the first laureation, which was public, and attended by all the nobility in town. The number graduated, and who of course signed the covenant, was forty-eight. As soon as this ceremony was concluded, Mr Rollock resigned his regency, retaining the principalship, to which was now annexed the professorship of theology, for which, and preaching regularly on the Sabbath, he was allowed four hundred merks yearly. It was the practice of Mr Rollock to pray in public with the students every morning, and on one day of the week to explain to them some passage of Scripture, which he never failed to conclude with most pertinent and practical exhortations. With the more advanced students he was particularly careful

that they might enter upon the work of the ministry, not only in some measure prepared for, but with a deep feeling of its important duties. With all this diligence among his pupils, he was a faithful and acceptable minister of the gospel. With literary ardour, however, almost boundless, and the warmest piety, Mr Rollock's simplicity of character degenerated into, or rather originally possessed a natural imbecility, not at all uncommon in minds of this description, which disqualified him from acting a consistent, or a profitable part in the conduct of the public affairs of the church, which at this period were of paramount importance; involving at once the civil, and the religious rights of the community. This facile disposition was at once seen, and appreciated by king James, who, having now matured his plans for reducing the church to an entire dependence upon himself, was sedulously employed in carrying them into effect. For advancing this purpose he had procured a meeting of the clergy at Perth in the month of February, 1597, which by threatenings, flatteries, and bribes, and by preventing some individuals from giving their opinion in the matter, he managed to have set down for a general assembly, whose conclusions were to be considered as binding upon the whole church. Naturally endowed, however, with a more than ordinary share of cunning, he proceeded with the utmost caution. Disclaiming all intention of introducing anything like change in any part of either the worship, government, or discipline of the church, and professing the utmost reverence for religion, and respect for its ministers, he submitted to this assembly only thirteen articles to be reasoned upon; all of them worded in a manner so gentle, and so ambiguous, as to conceal from all but acute and narrow observers their real spirit and true meaning; which was, in the first place, to lay open the present established order of the church to be called in question, though it was supposed to have been set at rest by the solemn oaths of his majesty, his council, his household, and by all who had any concern in the matter; secondly, to circumscribe the liberty of the pulpit, so that no warning might, through that medium, be given to the people of the designs of the king and his courtiers, when they should come to be discovered; and thirdly, that a commission of a few of the most prudent and orderly of the ministers should be appointed to confer with his majesty and council, upon all these or other questions, as opportunity or necessity might call for, subject to the after consideration of a general assembly, to be indicted only by his majesty, which was in the above articles not unequivocally claimed as one of the prerogatives of his crown. With all the diligence he exerted, however, he carried his purpose no very great length; some of his articles being answered doubtfully, some of them disallowed, and some of them not answered at all. Still greater diligence was therefore necessary to prepare matters for the assembly that was to meet at Dundee in the month of May the same year, where there was not only danger of gaining nothing further in his advances towards episcopacy, but of all that had been gained in the last assembly being lost. Care was taken to prevent the regular meeting of the assembly which should have been held at St Andrews in the month of April. Only a very few of the commissioners ventured to appear, who, along with the moderator, made humble confession of their sins, formed, or constituted the assembly, and took protestations for the liberty of the kirk, continuing all summonses, references, and appellations to the assembly following. In the following month, the assembly met at Dundee, but it was in the new fashion; the difference between which and those that had been held previously to that at Perth, of which we have spoken above, is thus stated by a writer of that period of the highest respectability. "1st. Christ by his spiritual office having convocated and appointed times and places before; now times and places are appointed by the king,

claiming this as his only due. 2nd. The moderator and brethren were directed by the word of God, and his Spirit; now and hereafter they are to be directed by the king, his laws, and state policy. 3rd. Matters were before proposed simply, and the brethren sent to seek light out of the word by reasoning, conference, meditation, and prayer; now means are devised before in the king's cabinet, to bring his purposes to pass, and heed is taken in public and private what may hinder his course. He that goeth his way is an honest man, a good peaceable minister; those that mean, or reason in the contrary, are seditious, troublesome, cuffed, factious! 4th. In reasoning, the word was alleged, the reason weighed, and if of weight yielded unto willingly; now the word is passed by, or posted over and shifted, and if the reason be insisted upon, the reasoner is borne down and put to silence. 5th. The fear of God, the care of the kirk, learning, the power of preaching, motion, and force of prayer, and other gifts shining in those who were present, procured before estimation, reverence, and good order; now the person, presence, and regard to the prince's favour and purpose swayeth all. If any had a gift, or measure of learning, utterance, zeal, or power in exhortation beyond others, it was employed at these assemblies; now plots are laid how none shall have place, but such as serve for their purpose. 6th. The assemblies of old aimed at the standing of Christ's kingdom in holiness and freedom; now the aim is how the kirk and religion may be framed conform to the political state of a monarch, and to advance his supreme and absolute authority in all causes. In a word, where Christ ruled before, the court now beginneth to govern. The king's man may stand at the king's chair, use what countenance, gesture, or language he pleaseth, but good men must be taunted, checked," &c. Such, according to Calderwood, was the assembly held at Dundee, 1597. According to the same authority, "After exhortation made by the last moderator, the assembly was delayed, and the commissioners wearied till the coming of Mr Robert Rollock, whom the king, and such as were to further his course, intended to have moderator. He was a godly man, but simple in the matters of the church government, credulous, easily led by counsel, and tutored in a manner by his old master, Thomas Buchanan, who was now gained to the king's course. Many means were used to have him chosen, and the king and his followers prepared him for the purpose. Sir Patrick Murray (brother to the laird of Balvaird, the same who had been his majesty's agent for corrupting the assembly at Perth,) and such ministers as were already won, travailled with others of chief note, and brought them to be acquaint with the king, which was their exercise morning and evening." Mr Rollock having been appointed moderator, the assembly proceeded to pass several acts strongly tending to support the whole superstructure of episcopacy. This was effected chiefly by a representation of his majesty "anent a solid order to be taken anent a constant, and perpetual provision for the sustentation of the whole ministry within this realme, to the end that they be not, as in time bygone, forced to depend, and await upon the commissioners appointed for modifying of their stipends, and so to absent themselves the most part of the year from their flocks, to the great disgrace of their calling, dishaunting of the congregation, discontentment of his majesty, whose care ever hath been, and earnest desire continueth as yet, that every congregation have a special pastor, honestly sustained for the better awaiting upon his cure, and discharging his dutiful office in the same. Therefore, his majesty desired the brethren to consider, whether it were expedient, that a general commission should be granted to a certain number of the most wise, and discreet of the brethren to convene with his majesty for effectuating of the premises. This, his majesty's advice, the assembly judged to be necessary and

expedient, and therefore gave, and granted their full power and commission to the brethren," &c., &c. These brethren, fourteen in number, seven of whom with his majesty were to be a quorum, were unhappily, with the exception of one or two that were named to save appearances, already captivated with the hopes, some of them with the express promise, of preferment, and the assembly was scarcely risen when they began to display all the arrogance of a bench of bishops or a high commission court. In the month of June they convened at Falkland, called before them the presbytery of St Andrews, upon a complaint by Mr John Rutherford, who had been deposed from the ministry of Kinnocher by that presbytery, and reduced the sentence. The culprit had purchased the favour of the court by forging calumnies upon Mr David Black, "who was a great eye-sore," says Calderwood, "to negligent, loose, and unfaithful ministers, of which number this Mr John Rutherford was one, but he lived in disgrace ever after, and was condemned by the bishops themselves, because he could serve them to no further use." Proceeding to St Andrews, they cast out Mr Wallace and Mr Black, who had but lately been restored; banishing the latter to Angus, whence they brought Mr George Gladstones, soon after created a bishop, to fill his place.

While they thus broke down the hedge of the church, by thrusting out two of her most faithful ministers, and bringing in Mr Gladstones without the consent of either presbytery or people, they also interfered with the laws of the university; obliging Andrew Melville to demit his rectorship, and forbidding all professors within the university, especially professors of divinity, to sit in the presbytery upon any matter of discipline. Robert Rollock, moderator of the last assembly, and consequently of the meetings of the commissioners with the king, betrayed, according to Calderwood, "great weakness, which many that loved him before construed to be simplicity." By the aid of Mr Rollock, and his friends the commissioners, however, his majesty was enabled to restore the popish earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, with whose assistance he carried in parliament an act for ministers of the gospel to have a place and a vote in that assembly. This act declared, "that such pastors and ministers, within the same, as at any time his majesty shall please to provide to the office, place, title, and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, shall at any time hereafter have vote in parliament, siclike and as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had at any time bygone. It also declared, that all or whatsoever bishoprics presently vailing in his majesty's hands, which are yet undisposed to any person, or which shall happen at any time hereafter to vaik, shall be only disposed by his majesty to actual preachers and ministers in the kirk," &c.

Soon after this, Mr Rollock was seized with an illness, which confined him to his house, and finally terminated his existence. While on his death-bed, he requested two friends, who called upon him, to go from him, as a dying man, to the king, and exhort him to cherish religion and the church, and to protect and comfort its pastors, and to proceed with these good works with an unfaltering step till the last hour of life; and not allow himself to be drawn from it, either by the hope of enlarging his authority, or by the evil advices of wicked men. To the same persons he added, "You will remember that I was chosen by the assembly at Dundee, to watch for the interest of this church. In this I had the glory of God, and the safety of the church, miserably tossed with tempests and shaking, before mine eyes; and I can now declare, that my conscience does not smite me with any wicked departure from duty, in doubling the number of the ministers of Edinburgh; and particularly, in my activity to bring in two (Messrs Robertson and Stewart) who studied under me, when I thought I saw in them gifts suitable to such a trust, and hoped God would bless their labours. I

am so far from repenting any share I had in this, that to this hour it is satisfying to me. I am persuaded the wise Maker of the world has tied the church and state together with a brotherly and adamant chain; and it hath been my great care to advance the good of both: and yet the love of peace hath not so far bewitched me, that I could not distinguish between genuine and adulterous peace; neither hath my affection to my sovereign carried me that length, that to please him I should submit to the least stain on my conscience. I hope the integrity and candour of my conduct shall appear when I am dead. In a word, brethren, join together with the most intimate love and concord in the work of the Lord. Let me put you in mind to pay every obedience to the king. You live in happy times, and enjoy a singular felicity. You are blessed with a prince who drank in religion with his milk; who hath guarded your doctrine with a right discipline, and covers both the doctrine and discipline of religion with his protection; who hath taken the church so much into his care, as by open and plain unanswerable documents, to make it evident, that he will never desert her while he breathes. Therefore, what you may easily and pleasantly enjoy, it will be folly to seek after by harsh methods. You will, then, take particular care, that the church be not ruined by a fall from such high happiness." Mr Rollock died on the 8th of January, 1598, in the forty-third year of his age. His remains were attended to the place of interment by nearly the whole population of Edinburgh, who considered him as their spiritual father, and regarded his death as a public calamity. The town council had paid his house rent for many years, and they allowed his widow the one half of his salary for five years, and to his posthumous daughter they gave, from the city funds, one thousand merks, by way of dowry. He published several works, chiefly commentaries on parts of Scripture, several of which were printed at Geneva, and obtained the warm approbation of the learned and judicious Beza. These works are still to be met with, and, though tinged with the scholastic theology of the times, discover great natural acuteness, a full acquaintance with his subject, and very extensive learning. His whole life seems, indeed, to have been devoted to literature.

ROSE, GEORGE, an eminent modern political character, was born at Brechin, June 11, 1744. He was the son of a poor non-jurant clergyman of the Scottish episcopal communion, who, through the persecution which his order endured from the government after the insurrection of 1745, seems to have lost the means of supporting his family. Under these unfortunate circumstances, George Rose was received by an uncle who kept an academy near Hampstead, by whom he was, at a very early period of life, placed in a surgeon's shop. Not liking this employment, he had the good fortune to attract the attention of the earl of Marchmont, who, from sympathy for the cause of his father's distresses, and other considerations, procured him a situation on board a ship of war. Here the office of purser, to which George soon attained, enabled him to display his qualities of activity, industry, and punctuality in so extraordinary a manner, as to attract the notice of the earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the admiralty. After occupying several subordinate situations in the public offices, he was appointed keeper of the records, for which his qualifications were entirely suited. The confused mass of papers which filled this office, were by him arranged and classed in such a manner, that any one could be found immediately when wanted. This achievement was attended with such extreme convenience to the ministry, that it attracted the particular attention of Lord North, and established Mr Rose as the man whose services were to be resorted to for all such systematic and laborious work.

In 1767, he was appointed to complete the Journals of the House of Lords in

thirty-one folio volumes; a laborious and creditable duty, for which he received a very handsome sum. Mr Rose from this time found regular employment in the public offices; but it was not till the Pitt and Dundas administration, that he was raised to any eminent station in the public service. He was then appointed joint-secretary to the treasury, and introduced into that department his habits of order, of regularity, and of careful attention to details. Mr Rose's qualifications were not of that order which make a great display; but which, nevertheless, are so necessary, that the want of them soon becomes conspicuous. In the business of every administration, there is a great deal of laborious second-rate work, which cannot be conveniently executed by the highest class of statesmen. The bold and comprehensive plans which they are called upon to form, require talents and habits which are very seldom found united with the power of minute calculation and patient inquiry. A laborious man, therefore, whose diligence and accuracy can be depended on, is an important acquisition to every administration. Such a one, who does not venture into the high and uncertain ground of political contention, may survive many ministerial shocks, and may recommend himself without discredit to cabinets differing considerably in their political aspect. Such an assistant was found by Mr Pitt in the subject of the present memoir, who, with the exception of two short intervals, continued, during half a century, a sort of ministerial fixture, carrying on the routine of public offices, with many useful plans and objects of a subordinate nature. While superintending the business of the treasury, his vigilance was unremitted in inspecting and keeping on the alert every department of the widely ramified system. Trade also occupied a considerable share of his attention; and no man was more intimately acquainted with its facts and details; though he does not seem to have reached those sound and comprehensive views which were familiar to Mr Pitt. Amid a variety of delicate employments, no charge was ever made against his integrity, except one, which turned out quite groundless.

On the accession of the Addington administration in 1801, and afterwards on the formation of that of the Talents in 1806, Mr Rose retired along with Mr Pitt, but resumed the public service in both cases on the restoration of the Tories. On Mr Pitt's return to power, he was made vice-president, and soon after, president of the Board of Trade, with a salary of £4000 a-year; in which situation, excepting during the Talents administration, he continued till his death. As a matter of course, Mr Rose was in parliament during the greater part of his public career. His speeches in that assembly were generally on subjects connected with trade, and were confined chiefly to details of facts, which he stated in a manner that aimed at nothing like ornament. He deserves particular praise for the zeal with which he engaged in plans no way connected with ministerial influence, and having for their sole object to improve the condition of the indigent classes of society. He gave his full support to friendly societies and savings' banks; and introduced laws to encourage, and secure the property of those establishments. In questions relating to the corn laws, he usually took part with the people against the landed interest. The plans for taking a census of the population were conducted under his auspices.

Early in life, Mr Rose married a lady connected with the island of Dominica by whom he had a large family. He purchased the estate of Cuffnells, in the New Forest, which he spent a large sum in ornamenting. His regular and temperate life was prolonged to a greater extent, than might have been expected from the laborious way in which he had spent it. He died at Cuffnells, January 13, 1818, in the 75th year of his age. It was the singular fortune of Mr Rose, that he could declare in his last moments, in reference to his family,

that "they had been a blessing to him during a long series of years, and had never caused him one hour's pain."

Mr Rose was the author of a considerable number of fugitive political writings, and of a respectable historical treatise, which he published with his name, under the title of "Observations on the Historical Work of Mr Fox." These "Observations" were prompted partly by a dissent from some of the political views in the History of James II., and partly by a wish to clear some charges brought against Sir Patrick Hume, the ancestor of his patron and friend, the earl of Marchmont, whose executor he was. The political opinions in the work, though opposed in some points to those of Mr Fox, are considered liberal, considering the general strain of the author's political life. Mr Rose also superintended, under the direction of the House of Lords, the publication of a superb engraved edition of Domesday Book.

ROSS, ALEXANDER, a very voluminous writer, but remembered less for his numerous works, than for a celebrated couplet in Hudibras:—

" There was an ancient sage philosopher,
Who had read Alexander Ross over."

He was born in Aberdeen in the year 1590; but his parentage has not been ascertained, nor have the circumstances of his early life been recorded. He has been generally confounded with a contemporary of the same name, of whom some account will be found in the next memoir. At what time he quitted Scotland is unknown; but it is supposed that not long after his arrival in England, he was appointed master of the grammar school of Southampton, and chaplain to Charles I. These appointments were probably procured through the influence of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he expresses his obligations in the dedication of his "*Commentum de Terræ Motu Circulari Refutatum*." This work appeared at London in 1634; and though professedly written against Lansbergius and Carpentarius, two advocates of the Copernican theory, contains, in fact, an epitome of all the arguments that have been adduced against that system. The Latinity is respectable, and the argument is managed with considerable skill. During the struggles of the great civil war, Ross espoused the royal cause, and his writings are filled with praises of the king, and denunciations of the parliament. It has been remarked by Echard, however, that he "so managed his affairs, that, in the midst of these storms, he died very rich, as appears from the several benefactions he made." His death took place early in 1654. We learn from the MSS. of Sir Robert Sibbald, that, by his will, dated 21st February, 1653, and probated 19th April, 1654, among numerous other benefactions, he left £200 to the town council of Aberdeen, for the foundation of two bursaries; £50 to the poor of Southampton; £50 to the poor of the parish of All-Saints; and £50 to the Bodleian library. There is scarcely a subject in the wide range of literature, on which Ross has not left a work. His first publication appears to have been poetical: "*Rerum Judaicarum Libri Duo*," London, 1617. To these he added a third book in 1619, and a fourth in 1632. The rarest of his poetical effusions bears no date, but is entitled "*Three Decads of Divine Meditations, whereof each one containeth three parts. 1. History. 2. An Allegory. 3. A Prayer. With a Commendation of a Private Country Life.*" This work has been priced so high as £8 8s. "*Four Books of Epigrams in Latin Elegiacs*," also appeared without a date; and in 1642 he published, "*Mel Heliconium, or Poetical Honey gathered out of the Weeds of Parnassus*." The first book is divided into vii chapters, according to the first vii letters of the alphabet, containing 48 fictions, out of which are extracted many historicall, naturall, morall, politicall, and

theologicall observations, both delightful and useful ; with 48 Meditations in Verse." But his most celebrated work in the department of poetry, is his "*Virgilii Evangelisantis Christiados Libri xiii.*," which was published at London in 1634, and again in 1638 and 1659. This is a cento from Virgil, giving a view of the leading features of sacred history, from the murder of Abel to the ascension of Christ. It excited considerable notice in its day, and was more lately brought before the public attention by Lauder, who accused Milton of having plagiarized it. Lauder says, that by many Ross's *Christiad* is esteemed equal with the *Æneid*. The opening lines may serve as a specimen :—

"Acta, Deumque cano, cœli qui primus ab oris
Virginis in lætæ gremium descendit et orbem
Terrarum invisit profugus, Chanaanæque venit
Littora, multum Ille et terra jactatus et alto
In superum, sævi memorem Plutonis ob iram."

His chief works in the department of history, are, "*Animadversions and Observations upon Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, wherein his Mistakes are noted, and some doubtful Passages noted,*" London, 1653 ; and "*The History of the World, the Second Part, in six books, being a Continuation of Sir Walter Raleigh's,*" London, 1652. "This," says Granger, (3d edit. vol. iii. p. 32,) is like a piece of bad Gothic tacked to a magnificent pile of Roman architecture, which serves to heighten the effect of it, while it exposes its own deficiency in strength and beauty." In 1652, was published, with a portrait of the author, "*Pansebia, or View of all the Religions in the World, with the Lives of certain notorious Hereticks.*" Afterwards reprinted in 1672, 1675, 1683, &c. Ross entered into controversy with Hobbes, Sir Thomas Browne, Hervey, and Sir Kenelm Digby ; and has left, among others, the following controversial writings : "*Observations upon Hobbes's Leviathan,*" 1653 ; "*Arcana Microcosmi, or the Hid Secrets of Man's Body discovered, in Anatomical Duel between Aristotle and Galen ; with a Refutation of Thomas Browne's Vulgar Errors, from Bacon's Natural History, and Hervey's book De Generatione,*" 1651 ; the "*Philosophical Touchstone, or Observations on Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse on the Nature of Bodies and of the Reasonable Soul, and Spinoza's Opinion of the Mortality of the Soul, briefly confuted,*" 1645. This does not exhaust the catalogue of Ross's writings. Besides many ascribed to him on doubtful authority, there remain to be mentioned : "*The New Planet, no Planet, or the Earth no Wandering Star, against Galilæus and Copernicus,*" 1640 ; "*Mystagogus Poeticus, or the Muses' Interpreter,*" 1647, which went through six editions ; "*Enchiridium Oratorium et Poeticum,*" 1650 ; "*Medicus Medicatus, or the Physician's Religion cured,*" 1645 ; "*Melismachia ;*" "*Colloquia Plautina ;*" "*Chronology, in English ;*" "*Chymera Pythagorica,*" no date ; "*Tonsor ad cutem Rasus,*" 1629 ; "*Questions and Answers on the First Six Chapters of Genesis,*" 1620 ; "*The Picture of the Conscience,*" 1646 ; "*God's House, or the House of Prayer, vindicated from Profaneness,*" 1642 ; "*God's House made a Den of Thieves,*" 1642. These two last pieces are sermons.

ROSS, ALEXANDER, frequently confounded with the former, was the son of James Ross, minister at Strachan, in Kincardineshire, and afterwards at Aberdeen. The date of his birth has not been ascertained, but it was probably between 1570 and 1580. He was for some time minister of the parish of Insch, in 1631 he was appointed minister of Footdee, a catechetical charge in the close vicinity of Aberdeen ; and in 1636, was chosen one of the ministers of St Nicholas' church in that city. Ross, like his colleagues, supported the episcopal

form of government, and subscribed the "Generall Demands" propounded to the commissioners, appointed by the tables, to enforce the subscription of the covenant in Aberdeen. The day before their arrival, he thundered from the pulpit against their proceedings, and exhorted his hearers to resist their threats. He appears also to have been in correspondence with Laud. In March, 1639, the covenanting forces approached Aberdeen, and the chiefs of the episcopal party fled. Ross was unable to quit the town from a sickness, from which he seems never to have recovered: he died on 11th August, 1639. His only publication appears to be the following, which is extant in Bishop Forbes's *Funerals* (p. 149 to 178): "A Consolatorie Sermon, preached upon the Death of the R. R. Father in God, Patrick Forbes, late Bishop of Aberdene. By Alexander Rosse, Doctour of Divinitie, and Minister of the Evangell in Aberdene, in Saynet Nicholas Church there, anno 1635, the xv of Aprill."

ROSS, ALEXANDER, a poet of some eminence, was born in the parish of Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeenshire, on the 13th April, 1699. His father was Andrew Ross, a farmer, in easy circumstances. Ross received the first elements of his education at the parochial school, under a teacher of considerable local celebrity; and after four years' study of the Latin language, succeeded in gaining a bursary at the competition in Marischal college, in November 1714. Having gone through the usual curriculum of the university, he received the degree of master of arts in 1718; and shortly after was engaged as a tutor to the family of Sir William Forbes of Craigievar and Fintray; a gentleman who appears to have possessed considerable taste and learning. How long the poet remained in this situation has not been ascertained; but he seems to have earned the good opinion of his patron, who recommended him to study divinity, with the assurance that his interest should not be wanting to procure a comfortable settlement in the church. Favourable as this offer was, from a gentleman who had no fewer than fourteen patronages in his gift, Ross declined it, on a ground which evinces extraordinary modesty,—“that he could never entertain such an opinion of his own goodness or capacity as to think himself worthy of the office of a clergyman.” On leaving the family of Sir William Forbes, Ross for some time taught, apparently as an assistant, the parochial school of Aboyne in his native county, and afterwards that of Laurencekirk, in Kincardineshire. While in this last situation he became acquainted with the father of Dr Beattie; a man who, in our poet's opinion, “only wanted education to have made him, perhaps, as much distinguished in the literary world as his son. He knew something of natural philosophy, and particularly of astronomy, and used to amuse himself in calculating eclipses. He was likewise a poetical genius, and showed our author some rhymes of considerable merit.”¹ In 1726, Ross married Jane Cattanach, the daughter of a farmer in Aberdeenshire, and descended by the mother from the ancient family of Duguid of Auchinhove. In 1732, by the influence of his friend, Mr Garden of Troup, he was appointed schoolmaster of Lochlee, in Angus; and the rest of his life was spent in the discharge of the duties of this humble office. There are, perhaps, few pieces of scenery in Scotland of a more wild and poetical character than that in which Ross's lot was cast. Lochlee is a thinly peopled parish, lying in the very centre of the Grampians, at the head of the valley of the North Esk. The population is almost entirely confined to one solitary glen, the green fields and smoking cottages of which are singularly refreshing to the eye of the traveller, after the weary extent of bleak moor and mountain which hem in the spot on all sides. On a mound in the centre, stands the ruin of an

¹ Life of Ross, by his grandson, the Rev. Alexander Thomson of Lentrathen—prefixed to an edition of the “Fortunate Shepherdess,” printed at Dundee, 1812.

ancient fortalice, built by the powerful family of the Lindsays of Edzel, as a place of retreat, where they could defy those dangers which they could not cope with in their Lowland domains, in the How of the Mearns. The loch, which gives its name to the parish, is a very beautiful sheet of water, imbedded deep among steep and craggy mountains. The Lee, the stream which feeds it, flows through a very wild glen, and over a rocky channel, in several picturesque waterfalls. On one of the tall precipices that form its sides, an eagle has built its nest, secure from molestation, in the inaccessible nature of the cliff. The remains of Ross's house still exist, situated near the eastern extremity of the loch, and only a few feet from the water's edge. Near at hand, surrounded by a few aged trees, is the little burying ground of the parish, the tombstones of which bear some epitaphs from Ross's pen, and there his own ashes are deposited.² The poet's house is now occupied as a sheepfold; and the garden, on which it is said he bestowed much of his time, can still be traced by the rank luxuriance of the weeds and grass, and the fragments of a rude wall. It is impossible to look on the ruins of this humble hut, without interest: its dimensions are thirty feet in length, and twelve in breadth; and this narrow space was all that was allotted to the school-room and the residence of its master. The walls seem to have contained but two apartments, each about twelve square feet in size, and the eastern was that occupied by Ross, from whom one of the windows, now built up, is still named the Poet's window. He had trained to cluster around it honeysuckle and sweet-briar; and here, looking forth on the waters of the loch, is said to have been his favourite seat when engaged in composition. So deep and confined is the glen at this spot, that, for thirty days of the winter, the sun never shines on the poet's dwelling. The emoluments of Ross's office were small, but perhaps more lucrative than the majority of parochial schools in the same quarter, from his being entitled to a sort of glebe, and some other small perquisites. One of his biographers has quoted some lines of the introduction to *Helenore*, as a proof of Ross's poverty and want:—

"Pity anes mair, for I'm out-throw as clung—

'Twas that grim gossip, chandler-chafed want,

Wi' thread-bare claething, and an ambry scant," &c.

It is consoling to be satisfied that these lines are not to be understood in a literal sense. We are assured by his grandson, that "no person in his station, or perhaps in any station, enjoyed a greater share of personal and domestic happiness. His living was, indeed, but small, not exceeding twenty pounds a-year, exclusive of the profits of his glebe; but he had no desire beyond what was necessary to support himself and family, in a way suitable to his station; and, considering the strict economy observed in his house, and the simple, though neat mode of living, to which he was accustomed, the emoluments of his office, as well as the profits arising from his publications, rendered him in some degree comfortable and independent." It was not until he had resided here for thirty-six years, that, in the year 1768, when he was nearly seventy, Ross appeared before the public as an author. So early as his sixteenth year, he had commenced writing verse; a translation from the Latin of Buchanan, composed at that age, having been published by his grandson in the memoir we have just quoted. From that time, he seems to have cultivated his poetical talents with ceaseless assiduity: Dr Beattie, who appears to have advised

² The only fact which a search of the kirk session register of Lochlee furnished with regard to Ross, is one of no very poetical nature, viz., that for some years he rented the grass of this quiet cemetery, at the yearly rent of £1 sterling.

him in the selection of his works for publication, writes, in a letter to Dr Blacklock, "He put into my hands a great number of manuscripts in verse, chiefly on religious subjects: I believe Sir Richard Blackmore is not a more voluminous author. He told me that he had never written a single line with a view to publication: but only to amuse a solitary hour."³ The poems which by Dr Beattie's advice were chosen for publication consisted of "Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess," and some songs, among which were, "The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow," "To the Begging we will go," and "Woo'd and married and a'." They appeared at Aberdeen in 1768,⁴ in one volume 8vo, and a considerable number of subscribers having been procured, the profits of the publication amounted to about twenty pounds; "a sum," says Beattie, "far exceeding his most sanguine expectations, for I believe he would thankfully have sold his whole works for five." To promote the sale, Beattie (whose interest in Ross was excited by the latter's acquaintance with the doctor's father) addressed a letter to the editor of the Aberdeen Journal, together with some verses inscribed to Ross, which are remarkable from being their author's only composition in the Scottish dialect; they have been prefixed to all the subsequent editions of *Helenore*, and possess much merit. The success of the volume does not seem to have been very rapid, for ten years elapsed before the publication of the second edition. While this was going through the press, Dr Beattie wrote to Ross from Gordon castle, with an invitation from the noble owners to pay them a visit. Though now eighty years of age, the poet at once accepted the invitation, and took that opportunity of presenting a copy of the second edition of his work, dedicated to the duchess of Gordon. He remained at the castle for some days, says his grandson, and "was honoured with much attention and kindness both by the duke and duchess, and was presented by the latter with an elegant pocket-book, containing a handsome present, when he returned to Lochlee in good health, and with great satisfaction." The next year he experienced the loss of his wife, who died at the advanced age of eighty-two, and to whose memory he erected a tombstone with a poetical epitaph. He himself did not long survive: on the 20th of May, 1784, "worn out with age and infirmity, being in his eighty-sixth year, he breathed his last, with the composure, resignation, and hope becoming a Christian." Of Ross's numerous family, two sons and a daughter died in early youth, and four daughters survived him. Such are the few facts that constitute the biography of Alexander Ross. His character appears to have been marked by much cheerfulness and simplicity; lowly as was his lot, he found tranquillity and content in it, and the picture of his household piety which has come down to us, is singularly affecting. Regrets have been expressed that a man of his merits should have been allowed to toil on in the humble situation of a parish schoolmaster; but it should be remembered that he was nearly seventy years old before he gave the public proof of his talents, and it may be very doubtful if at that advanced age he would have found in a higher sphere the same peace and happiness which he had so long enjoyed in his Highland glen. It is also gratifying to think that the profits of his publications, trifling as they would now be viewed, were still sufficient to afford him many additional luxuries; and that the fame which his poems received from the world reached his retired home, and secured to him honour from his neighbours, and marks of attention from the few strangers of

³ Forbes' *Life of Beattie*, i. 119. We may add Dr Beattie's description of Ross at this date: "He is a good humoured, social, happy old man: modest without clownishness, and lively without petulance."

⁴ "The Fortunate Shepherdess, a pastoral tale in the Scottish dialect, by Alexander Ross, Schoolmaster at Lochlee, to which are added a few songs by the author. Aberdeen, printed by and for Francis Douglas—1768."—pp. 150.

rank that found their way to Lochlee. Neither should it be forgotten that his songs became, even in his own day, as they still continue, the favourite ditties of his neighbourhood, and that the poet's ears were gratified by hearing his own verses chanted on the hill-sides in summer, and by the cottage ingle in winter. This is the incense to his genius prized by the poet beyond other earthly rewards, and which cheers him even when stricken by the poverty which is "the badge of all his tribe." Ross left eight volumes of unpublished works, of which an account has been preserved in Campbell's Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, (p. 272 to 284.) The chief of these is a tale in the same measure with the Fortunate Shepherdess, entitled, "The Fortunate Shepherd, or the Orphan." The specimens which are given are too unsatisfactory to permit us to judge if we ought to regret its suppression, which we are informed was owing to the advice of Dr Beattie. "A Dream, in imitation of the Cherry and Slae," and composed in 1753, seems to possess some stanzas of considerable merit. "Religious Dialogues," written in 1754, are characterized by Beattie as unfit for publication; and Mr Campbell, certainly a favourable critic, can find no word of commendation for the six pieces which bear the following titles: "A Paraphrase on the Song of Solomon;" "A View of king David's Afflictions;" "The Shunamite, from 2 Kings iv.;" "Moses exposed in the Ark of Bulrushes;" "An incitement to Temperance, from a thought of the nice construction of the Human Body;" and "Moses' story continued." This long catalogue seems to have been the origin of Beattie's comparison of Ross with Sir Richard Blackmore. In addition to these there are in the same strain, "The Book of Job rendered into English verse," 1751, and "A Description of the Flood of Noah." A translation of Andrew Ramsay's beautiful poem on the creation seems to possess more merit; and from the specimens given is at least fully equal to that of the notorious Lauder, whose attack on Milton had the effect of attracting attention to Ramsay's works. The list of Ross's unpublished works is closed by a dramatic piece, called "The Shaver," founded on an incident which occurred in Montrose, and by a prose composition, "A Dialogue of the Right of Government among the Scots, the persons George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland." "There are ninety sections in this tract," says Campbell, "and from the slight look I have taken through it I am of opinion it might be rendered a very valuable performance." The specimen given does not indicate the direction of Ross's political sentiments, nor does Campbell supply that information; his grandson tells us that "he was best pleased with such religious discourses as were strictly Calvinistic."

From the information thus preserved regarding Ross's unpublished writings, there seems little reason to regret their loss. His reputation must be founded on his Fortunate Shepherdess, and the songs which were published along with it. With all its faults, this poem is possessed of a high degree of merit; and, in addition to its local fame, will continue to be esteemed by the student of Scottish poetry. Burns has written of him, "Our true brother, Ross of Lochlee, was a wild warlock;" and "the celebrated Dr Blacklock," says Dr Irving, "as I have learnt from one of his pupils, regarded it as equal to the pastoral of Ramsay." This last opinion, it is to be feared, will be shared by few; nor is it any strong evidence of its soundness, to say that it was adopted by John Pinkerton, who writes:—"Some of the descriptions are exquisitely natural and fine; the language and thoughts are more truly pastoral, than any I have yet found in any poet, save Theocritus." Ross, indeed, is far inferior to Ramsay in delicacy of feeling, in taste, and in the management of his story. In reading the Fortunate Shepherdess we constantly meet with expressions and allu-

sions of the most unworthy nature. Dr Irving has quoted two lines of this description,—

“ And now the priest to join the pair is come,
But first is welcom’d with a glass o’ rum.”

And it were easy to fill a page with similar instances :—

“ Now, Mary was as *modest as a fleuk*,
And at their jeering wist na how to look.”

Nor can the reader easily overlook Ross’s absurd nomenclature. Thus the hero is honoured with the female name of Rosalind, and Scottish glens are clothed with the classic appellations of Flaviana and Sævitia ; which last name, intended by the author to be expressive of fierceness, was, by a typographical error in the first edition, converted into Sævilia. But the most forcible objection undoubtedly lies in the plot, than which it were difficult to conceive any thing more unpoetical. The early part of the poem is devoted to the description of the love of the hero and heroine, which is beautifully painted in its various stages, growing up from their infancy to their youth, and strengthened by all the love-inspiring incidents and situations of a pastoral life. And at the very moment when the poet has succeeded in completing this beautiful picture of simple affection and guileless innocence, he sets himself to undo the charm, weds the heroine to a richer lover, and sacrifices the hero to a marriage, which his heart cannot approve, and of which the chief object is the recovery of certain sheep and horned cattle. Ross seems to have been aware of the objections which are chargeable against this *denouement*, and endeavours to obviate them in the preface prefixed to the first edition, by pleading that it is productive of a salutary moral :—“ This important lesson is inculcated, that when two young people have come under engagements to one another, no consideration whatever should induce them to break faith, or to promise things incompatible with keeping it entire.” It is certainly difficult to see the force of this apology ; and Ross’s error on this head is the more note-worthy from his taking objection in his invocation to the plot of his model, the Gentle Shepherd :—

————— “ Allan hears
The gree himsell, an’ the green laurels wears ;
We’el mat he brook them, for tho’ ye had spair’d
The task to me, Pate might na been a laird.”

It is singular how Ross could have overlooked the circumstance, that Ramsay, in elevating his hero, sacrifices no long-cherished feeling, or former affection ; while not only is the Fortunate Shepherdess raised to a similar rank, but this upon the very ruins of an affection, which had twined itself round her heart-strings from her earliest years. We have, perhaps, dwelt too long upon the ungracious task of fault-finding. Ross’s chief talent lies, as was remarked by Beattie, in his descriptions of scenery, and of the habits of a rude and pastoral life. Many of these will cope with the best passages in the Gentle Shepherd, or in any of our Scottish poets. We may refer to the description of a valley at noon (at page 28 of the second edition) ; to the picture of Flaviana, which has been quoted by Sir Walter Scott in the Heart of Mid Lothian ; and to the numerous descriptions of morning, evening, and night, scattered through the poem. It must not be concealed, however, that few of the delineations possess that consistency in their parts, completeness, and nice finish, which are to be found in the Gentle Shepherd. Ross’s songs, though certainly of a very high

order of merit, have unfortunately been omitted in the more popular editions of his works. This is to be regretted, as they are disfigured by none of the faults of his larger work, and, notwithstanding their length, would be valuable additions to the Scottish song book. It has been already mentioned, that two editions of his work appeared in the author's lifetime; a third was printed at Aberdeen in 1787; a fourth at Edinburgh in 1804, in the same volume with Macneill's Will and Jean, and some other poems: and a fifth appeared at Dundee in 1812. This last has a life prefixed by his grandson; and it is to be regretted that the liberties taken with the text, the omission of the preface, songs, and glossary, should have rendered it so defective.⁵ Besides these, there have appeared numerous editions, on coarse paper, and at a low price, to be hawked through the north of Scotland, where they ever find a ready sale. Of the number of these reprints, it is not easy to obtain an account; we believe the last is that published at Aberdeen in 1826. In Aberdeenshire and in Angus, the Mearns and Moray, there is no work more popular than "The Fortunate Shepherdess." It disputes popularity with Burns and the Pilgrim's Progress; is read, in his idle hours, by the shepherd in the glens, and wiles away the weariness of the long winter night, at the crofter's fireside. On its first appearance, Beattie predicted—

"And ilka Mearns and Angus bairn,
Thy tales and sangs by heart shall learn."

The prediction has been amply verified, and a hope which Ross expressed in one of his unpublished poems, has been realized:—

"Hence lang, perhaps, lang hence may quoted be,
My hamely proverbs lined wi' blythesome glee;
Some reader then may say, 'Fair fa' ye, Ross,'
When, aiblins, I'll be lang, lang dead and gane,
An' few remember there was sick a ane."

ROW, JOHN, a celebrated divine, was descended of a family of some note for the part they had borne in the ecclesiastical history of their country. His grandfather, John Row, had gone abroad in early youth, and the fame of his talents and learning having reached the Vatican, he was in 1559, selected by the Pope as an emissary to watch over the dawning reformation in Scotland. But, in a short time after his return to his native country, he embraced the principles of the reformed religion, and advocated them with much zeal and ability. He was in 1560, appointed minister of Perth, and from that time enjoyed considerable influence in the councils of the reformed clergy, sharing the friendship of Knox, and other distinguished men of that age. His eldest son was for fifty-two years minister of Carnock in Fife, and died at the advanced age of seventy-eight. He was partly author of "The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1558, to August in Anno 1637, written by Mr John Row, late minister at Carnock, in the province of Fife and presbyterie of Dunfermline." This is preserved in MS. in the Advocates' library, and has been pronounced by one well fitted to judge, "a very valuable but rather prolix work." The date of the birth of John Row, his second son, the subject of the present memoir has not been preserved, but it may be referred to the latter

⁵ The liberties taken with the text, which we complain of, consist in attempts to translate the more obsolete words into English, and in frequent omissions of couplets, without any discernible cause. We have 'shepherd,' for 'herding'; 'honest,' for 'sackless'; 'liv'd,' for 'wou'd'; 'a burning coal,' for 'a clear brunt coal,' &c.

years of the sixteenth, or more probably to the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹ At a very early period of life he was appointed rector of the grammar school at Perth, and for many years discharged that office with much reputation. He was the first Hebrew scholar of that day, an accomplishment which seems to have been hereditary in the family; his father, it is reported, having "discovered some genius for Hebrew when he was only a child of four or five years old," and his grandfather having been, it is said, the first who publicly taught Hebrew in Scotland. While rector of the Perth school, Row composed his "*Hebræe Linguae Institutiones Compendiosissimæ et facillimæ in Discipulorum gratiam primum concinnatæ*," which was published at Glasgow in 1644. This work was dedicated to lord chancellor Hay of Kinnoul, to whom he expresses himself obliged for benefits conferred on his father, and for having procured himself the situation he held. After the fashion of the day, the book was prefaced by several commendatory verses; and of these some are from the pen of the celebrated Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, and John Adamson. The work also bore the record of the unanimous approbation of the faculty of the college of St Leonard in the university of St Andrews. Three years previous to the publication of the "*Hebræe Linguae Institutiones*," Row was by the influence of the famous Andrew Cant appointed one of the ministers of Aberdeen. In 1643, he published a Vocabulary of the Hebrew language, which he dedicated to his new patrons, the town council of Aberdeen. This mark of respect was rewarded by the following ordinance of that body: "20th September, 1643, the counsell considering the panes taken be Mr John Row in teaching the Hebrew tongue, and for setting forth ane Hebrew dictionar, and dedicating the same to the counsell, ordanes the thesaurar to deliver to the said Mr John Row for his paines four hundreth merk Scotts money."² In his office of minister of Aberdeen, Row supported the principles of his coadjutor Andrew Cant, and was with him highly obnoxious to the more moderate party of the presbyterians, and to those who still favoured episcopacy. The amusing annalist Spalding, who attended his prelections, loses no opportunity of holding him up to ridicule or detestation; and language seems sometimes to fail him for the expression of his horror at Row's innovations. "One of the town's officers," he relates, "caused bring a bairn to the lecture lesson, where Mr John Row had taught, to be baptized; but because this bairn was not brought to him when he was baptizing some other bairns, he would not give baptism; whereupon the simple man was forced to bring back this child unbaptized. The wife lying in child-bed, hearing the child was not baptized, was so angry, that she turned her face to the wall, and deceased immediately through plain displeasure, and the bairn also ere the morn; and the mother, and her bairn in her oxtter, were both buried together. Lamentable to see," writes the indignant chronicler, "how the people are thus abused!" In 1644, Row was chosen moderator of the provincial assembly at Aberdeen; and the next year, on the approach of Montrose at the head of the royalist forces, he, with Cant and other "prime covenanters," sought refuge with the earl Marischal in the castle of Dunottar. In 1649, the Scottish parliament appointed a committee to remonstrate against the contemplated murder of Charles I., and Row was one of six clergymen nominated to act with the committee. In 1651, a commission, consisting of five colonels from the army of Monk, visited the king's college of Aberdeen, and, among other acts, deposed the principal, Dr Guild;

¹ The learned editor of "*Memorials of the Family of Row*," (a work to which we are indebted for much of the information given in the following memoir) erroneously calls John Row the *eldest* son of his father.

² Council Register of Aberdeen, vol. lii. p. 771.

and the next year, Row was chosen his successor. He seems to have filled the principal's chair with much credit; he maintained strict discipline, and added to the buildings of the college, while his own learning extended the reputation of the university. On the 8th October, 1656, being a day appointed for a public thanksgiving, he preached in Westminster abbey before the parliament, and his sermon was afterwards printed by their orders, under the title of "Man's Duty in magnifying God's Work." On the Restoration, principal Row lost no time in paying his court to the new authorities. In 1660, he published at Aberdeen, "*Εὐχαρίστια Βασιλική*," ad Carolum II. Carmen : "a work which was laudatory of the king, and abusive of Cromwell, who is styled "Trux vilis vermes," being the anagram of "O vile cruel worm" (Oliver Cromwell) latinized. This panegyric, however, availed him little. Some of his works, which contained reflections on the royal family, were taken from the college, and burned at the cross of Aberdeen by the hands of the hangman : and in 1661, Row resigned his office of principal. He soon after established a school at Aberdeen, and lived for some years on the scanty emoluments derived from this source, eked out by charitable donations. Thereafter he retired to the family of a son-in-law and daughter in the parish of Kinellar, about eight miles from Aberdeen, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was interred in the churchyard of the parish, but no monument marks his grave. Besides the works we have mentioned, and some others which seem to be lost, principal Row wrote a continuation of his father's History of the Church, which is extant in the Advocates' library, under the title of "Supplement to the Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, from August, anno 1637, and thenceforward to July, 1639; or ane Handful of Goates Haire for the furthering of the Building of the Tabernacle : a Short Table of Principall Things for the promoving of the most excellent Historie of this late blessed Work of Reformation, in the hands of such as are employed therein by the General Assemblie; written by Mr John Row, Minister at Aberdene." Mr James Row, minister of Monivaird and Strowan, a younger brother of principal Row, is well known to the curious in Scottish literature, as the author of the celebrated "Pockmanty Sermon," preached in Saint Giles's, in 1638, and which has been lately reprinted under the titles of "The Red-Shanke's Sermon;" and "A Cupp of Bon-Accord."

ROXBURGH, WILLIAM, a physician and eminent botanist, was born at Underwood in the parish of Craigie, on the 29th June, 1759. His family was not in affluent circumstances, but they nevertheless contrived to give him a liberal education. On acquiring all the learning which the place of his nativity afforded, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his studies, which were exclusively directed to the medical profession. After attending for some time the various classes at the university necessary to qualify him for this pursuit, he received, while yet but seventeen years of age, the appointment of surgeon's mate on board of an East Indiaman, and completed two voyages to the East in that capacity before he had attained his twenty-first year. An offer having been now made to him of an advantageous settlement at Madras, he accepted of it, and accordingly established himself there. Shortly after taking up his residence at Madras, Mr Roxburgh turned his attention to botany, and particularly to the study of the indigenous plants, and other vegetable productions of the East, and in this he made such progress, and acquired so much reputation that he was in a short time invited by the government of Bengal, to take charge of the Botanical gardens established there. In this situation he rapidly extended his fame as a botanist, and introduced to notice, and directed to useful purposes many previously unknown and neglected vegetable productions of the country. Mr Roxburgh now also became a member of the Asiatic Society, to whose Transactions

he contributed, from time to time, many valuable papers, and amongst these one of singular interest on the lacca insect, from which a colour called lac lake, is made, which is largely used as a substitute for cochineal. This paper, which was written in 1789, excited much attention at the time, at once from the ability it displayed, and from the circumstance of its containing some hints which led to a great improvement on the colour yielded by the lacca insect.

In 1797, Mr Roxburgh paid a visit to his native country, and returned (having been in the mean time married,) to Bengal, in 1799, when he resumed his botanical studies with increased ardour and increasing success. In 1805, he received the gold medal of the Society for the Promotion of Arts, for a series of highly interesting and valuable communications on the subject of the productions of the East. He had again, in this year, returned to England, and was now residing at Chelsea, but in very indifferent health; he, however, once more proceeded to Bengal, and continued in his curatorship of the Botanical Gardens there till 1803, when, broken down in constitution, he finally returned to his native country. In this year he received a second gold medal for a communication on the growth of trees in India, and on the 31st of May, 1814, was presented with a third, in the presence of a large assembly which he personally attended, by the duke of Norfolk, who was then president of the Society of Arts.

Soon after receiving this last honourable testimony of the high respect in which his talents were held, Mr Roxburgh repaired to Edinburgh, where he died, on the 10th of April in the following year, in the 57th year of his age, leaving behind him a reputation of no ordinary character for ability, and for a laudable ambition to confer benefits on mankind, by adding to their comforts and conveniences; which objects he effected to no inconsiderable extent by many original and ingenious suggestions.

ROY (MAJOR-GENERAL), WILLIAM, a distinguished practical mathematician and antiquary, was born in Carluke parish, May 4, 1706. John, the father, who was born April 15, 1697, at Milton-head, must have been an active and intelligent man, if we may judge from the many references made to him by the heritors of the parish. He is variously designated as gardener, factor, &c., to Sir William Gordon, and to Charles Hamilton Gordon, of Halleraig. John, the grandfather, seems to have been succeeded in office by his son John. The earliest notice of the elder John Roy is in the "Roll of polleable persons in Carluke parish, 1695," and the entry there is in these terms:—"Jo roy, servitor to my Lord halleraig, 00. 19. 04." The general, and his brother James, afterwards minister of Prestonpans, were educated partly at the school of their native parish, and partly at the grammar-school of Lanark, the latter having been a bursar in Glasgow college on the foundation of the countess of Forfar, from 1737 till 1751. A characteristic anecdote of Roy is still current. An old woman, a native of Carluke, who had all her life been a servant at Lee, used to relate with pride that, in her young days, Roy came to Lee as attendant on great men; shortly afterwards he came again, but in a higher office; after the lapse of years, he came a third time, and now he sat at the right hand of the laird!

The birthplace of general Roy is accidentally marked in a singular manner. The buildings of Milton-head have long been cleared away. An old willow that grew near the end of the steading, no longer able to bear the weight of its own arms, bent under the burden, and now represents an arch of fair proportions. The tree in this position continues to grow, and is itself an object of interest; but, marking as it does the birthplace of an eminent man, it is doubly worthy of notice and preservation.

No record has been discovered of the early career of general Roy. He was first brought into notice in 1746, when he was employed by government to make an actual survey of Scotland. This arduous and difficult duty he performed in a meritorious manner, and gave the world the result in what goes under the name of the "Duke of Cumberland's Map." Upon this map, which is a very large sheet, the sites of all ascertainable Roman camps or stations were accurately and distinctly laid down. It was afterwards reduced by the general to a smaller size, under the title of "*Mappa Britanniae Septentrionalis*," &c.

The first geodesic survey executed in England was undertaken with the immediate object of establishing a trigonometrical connection between the observations of Paris and Greenwich, in order to determine the difference of longitude. This was executed by general Roy, who began his operations by measuring a base of 27,404 feet on Hounslow Heath, in the summer of 1784. Amongst the numerous and valuable papers contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Society by general Roy, was an account of these operations, which obtained for him the Copley medal. To this paper was appended an account of the mode proposed to be followed in determining the relative situations of the Greenwich and Paris observatories, which led to the author's being employed by royal command to ascertain this point by the method thus suggested, from actual experiment. In obedience to his majesty's mandate, the general completed an exceedingly curious, accurate, and elaborate set of trigonometrical experiments and observations, to determine the true and exact latitude and longitude of the two observatories, illustrated by tables computed from actual measurement; to enable him to accomplish which, he was furnished by the king with several costly trigonometrical instruments. General Roy presented an account of these interesting proceedings to the Royal Society, and was employed in superintending its publication in the Society's Transactions, when he was seized with an illness which carried him off in two hours. He died at his house, Argyle Street, London, July 1, 1790. General Roy's investigations laid the groundwork of the trigonometrical survey of the three kingdoms, which is still in progress. In the History of the Royal Society by Weld (1848), it is expressly stated that this survey was commenced by general Roy in 1784. It was subsequently conducted, under the direction of the master-general of the ordnance, by colonel Williams, and captain, afterwards general Mudge, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr Dalby, who had previously assisted general Roy. Three years after his death, general Roy's elaborate antiquarian work was published at the expense of the Antiquarian Society of London, under the title of "*Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*." General Roy was deputy quartermaster-general of his majesty's forces; surveyor of the coasts and batteries; colonel of the 30th Regiment of Foot; F.R.S., &c.

RUDDIMAN, THOMAS, a celebrated philologist and Latin grammarian, was born in the month of October, 1674, in the parish of Boyndie, county of Banff. His father, James Ruddiman, was a respectable farmer, and was at the period of his son's birth tenant of the farm of Raggel, in Banffshire. He was esteemed by his neighbours as a man profoundly skilled in agricultural matters, and was besides greatly respected for the benevolence of his disposition. He was strongly attached to monarchy, an attachment which he evinced in a remarkable manner by bursting into tears on first hearing of the death of Charles II. This ebullition of loyal feeling made a strong impression on his son, who witnessed it, and although he was then only in the tenth year of his age, it is thought to have influenced the opinions of his after life on similar subjects. Young Ruddiman commenced his initiatory course of learning at the parish

grammar school of Boyndie, which was then taught by a Mr George Morrison, of whose attention and skill in his profession his pupil ever after retained a grateful and respectful recollection. In this seminary the subject of this memoir rapidly outstripped his fellows in classical learning. The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid early struck his fancy, and had the effect of inducing such a degree of application to the acquisition of the language in which they are written, as carried him far in advance of all the other scholars in the school. His master, perceiving his ardour, allowed him to press on, abandoning all idea of restraining so forward a spirit to the slow march of those associated with him in the study of classical learning.

The consequence of this assiduity and enthusiastic devotion to Roman literature, was an early and singular proficiency in its language. Of this young Ruddiman himself felt so conscious, that when only sixteen years of age he left his father's house without giving any previous intimation of his departure, or of its object, to any of the family excepting one sister, and proceeded to Aberdeen to compete for the annual prize given at King's college of that city for proficiency in classical learning. Previously to his setting out, his sister, to whom he had confided his secret, slipped a guinea into his pocket; but of this, and of nearly all his apparel he was robbed by the way; having been met, and assailed at a place called Starbrigs, by a band of gypsies who first plundered and then stripped him. This mishap, however, did not deter the young enthusiast from proceeding on his mission. He reached Aberdeen, though in a miserable plight, competed for the prize, and carried it off. Having obtained a bursary in the college by this success, he now took up his residence in Aberdeen, and commenced his academical studies in November 1690, under professor William Black. His father, in the mean time, having heard whither his son had gone, and for what purpose, hastened after him, and had the satisfaction, on meeting with him, to find him surrounded with friends, whom his youth and singular acquirements had already procured for him.

At the college of Aberdeen Mr Ruddiman pursued his studies with an ardour and devotion which daily increased, and which at the end of four years procured him the degree of master of arts. This honour, of which the young scholar was extremely proud, was conferred on him on the 21st June, 1694. Amongst Mr Ruddiman's fellow students at this period was the well-known lord Lovat; whose earthly career was terminated on Tower Hill by the axe of the executioner, at the distance of more than half a century afterwards. Of this nobleman, the biographer of Ruddiman remarks, that, when at college, "he was at the head of every mischief."

On completing his academical course, Mr Ruddiman was engaged by Mr Robert Young of Auldbar, in the county of Forfar, to assist the studies of his son. He was still under twenty years of age, but his acquirements in classical literature were far in advance of this period of life, as compared with the ordinary progress of proficiency in others. While advancing the knowledge of his pupil, Mr Ruddiman did not permit his own to remain stationary. He continued to study assiduously, and every day added to his acquirements in classic lore.

During his residence at Auldbar, Mr Ruddiman heard of the death of the incumbent schoolmaster of Lawrencekirk, in Kincardineshire, and thinking this a favourable opportunity for advancing his fortunes, applied for, and obtained the situation, partly through the interest of Mr Young, and partly through the influence of his own reputation for extraordinary learning. In this situation, a sufficiently obscure one, he remained, still applying himself with unabated zeal to the study of the classics, till the year 1699, when a

rather singular occurrence opened up a wider field to his ambition and his merits.

The celebrated Dr Pitcairne of Edinburgh, happening to be detained for a day in the village of Lawrencekirk, by the inclemency of the weather, asked the hostess of the inn where he put up, whether she could not find him some intelligent person who would partake of his dinner, and help, by his conversation, to divert the tedium of the evening. His landlady immediately suggested the schoolmaster, Mr Ruddiman. He was accordingly sent for, and in the course of the conversation which followed made so favourable an impression on the Doctor, by the extent of his acquirements, and the judiciousness of his remarks, that the latter, before they parted, invited him to come to Edinburgh, and promised him his patronage.

Mr Ruddiman gratefully closed with the proposal, and repaired to the metropolis in the beginning of the year 1700. On his arrival, his patron procured him employment in the Advocates' library as a sort of assistant librarian, though for upwards of a year he had no regular or formal engagement in that capacity. During this interval he employed himself in arranging books, copying papers, and making extracts from interesting works. In 1701, Mr Ruddiman married Barbara Scollay, the daughter of a gentleman of small estate in Orkney, and in the year following, he was formally admitted, on the 2nd of May, assistant librarian, with a salary of £8, 6s. 8d. sterling per annum. His diligence, learning, and steadiness of character, had already attracted the notice, and called forth the approbation of his employers, who, as a token of their sense of these merits, presented him with an extra allowance of fifty pounds Scots, at the end of the year succeeding that of his appointment. Mr Ruddiman now set himself seriously and earnestly to the task of improving his circumstances by literary industry and diligence, and the situation he was in eminently favoured such a design. He copied chronicles and chartularies for the Glasgow university, which gave him constant and regular employment in this way. He formed connexions with booksellers, and revised, corrected, and added to the works which they were publishing, particularly those of a learned character, and to all this he added the expedient of keeping boarders, whom he also instructed in classical learning. The first work to which he is known to have lent his assistance was Sir Robert Sibbald's "*Introductio ad Historiam rerum a Romanis gestarum in ea Boreali Britannia parte quæ ultra Murum Picticum est.*" He was next employed to revise "*The Practiques of the Laws of Scotland,*" by Sir Robert Spottiswood, for which he received £5 sterling. Mr Ruddiman's active mind, and laudable desire of independence, suggested to him still another means of increasing his emoluments. This was to commence book auctioneer, a calling for which his habits and pursuits peculiarly qualified him, and he accordingly added it, in the year 1707, to his other avocations, but confined himself, in the exercise of it, principally to learned works and school books.

In the same year in which he commenced auctioneer, he published an edition of Wilson's "*Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus.*" To this work he added a new preface, and subjoined a sketch of the life of Wilson, besides correcting the numerous typographical errors of Gryphius of Leyden, by whom it was first published in 1543. His extraordinary and unwearying diligence enabled Mr Ruddiman to present the world in 1709, with a new edition, with notes, of another learned work. This was "*Johnstoni Cantici Solomonis Paraphrasis Poetica,*" which he dedicated, in a copy of verses, to his patron Dr Pitcairne, a compliment which the latter acknowledged by presenting the learned editor with a silver cup, inscribed with the following couplet from Horace :

Narratur et prisce Catonis,
Sæpe mero incaluisse virtus.

Mr Ruddiman, however, was not permitted long to rejoice in the possession of this elegant testimony of his patron's esteem for him. His house was shortly after broken into by robbers, and the silver cup, with many other articles carried off.

The reputation which the learned and acute grammarian had acquired by the new editions of the works just named, was still farther increased by that in which he next engaged. This was an edition of Virgil's *Æneid*, as translated into Scottish verse by the celebrated Gawin Douglas. To this work, which was published by Freebairn of Edinburgh, besides superintending and correcting the press, he contributed a Glossary, explaining difficult and obsolete words; a performance which bespeaks great depth of research, soundness of judgment, and singular acuteness of perception. Mr Ruddiman's modesty, (for he was as modest as learned,) prevented him from associating with the Glossary any kind of notice which should point out to the public that he was the author of it; but after some time this fact transpired, and compliments poured in upon him from the most eminent and learned men of the day.

A vacancy happening to occur about this period in the grammar school of Dundee, Mr Ruddiman, whose fame as a scholar was now rapidly spreading abroad, was invited to become rector of that seminary; but an advance of salary having been tendered him by the faculty of advocates to induce him to remain, he accepted it, and declined the offer of the magistrates of Dundee, although he thereby sacrificed his pecuniary interests to a considerable amount, for the additional salary which was conferred upon him was still short of the amount of emolument which the rectorship of the Dundee grammar school would have produced to him.

Still pursuing his literary labours with unremitting industry, he, in 1711, assisted in preparing a new edition of the works of Drummond of Hawthornden, printed by Watson of Edinburgh, and immediately after lent his aid to Abercromby, to publish his "*Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*." Mr Ruddiman next devoted himself to philological pursuits; and in 1713, published a new edition of the Latin Vocabulary of John Forrest, *with improvements*. In the year following, he published that work which filled up the measure of his fame. This was his "*Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*;" a work which he lived to see go through no less than fifteen editions. It is almost unnecessary to add, that it immediately supplanted all those of a similar kind which had been previously in use, every one of which was singularly defective; and that it has remained in extensive use throughout the grammar schools of Scotland ever since.

Shortly after this, Mr Ruddiman was employed by Freebairn to edit "*Buchanani Opera Omnia*," now collected for the first time. To this work, which was published in 1715, in two vols. folio, he contributed large annotations, in which he treated freely both the character and political principles of the author; a procedure which raised him a host of enemies, and involved him in a litigated and annoying controversy. This hostility assumed in one instance the formidable shape of a "*Society of the Scholars of Edinburgh*, to vindicate that incomparably learned and pious Author (Buchanan) from the Calumnies of Mr Thomas Ruddiman." This association, however, though it included no less than four professors of the university, never made any progress in their proposed "*Vindication*," and finally dissolved, without accomplishing any thing, although they frequently and confidently promised the world a new edition of Buchanan, with a *confutation* of Ruddiman.

In 1715, Mr Ruddiman added to his other avocations that of printer, admitting a younger brother of his own, who had been bred to the business, as a partner of the concern. The first production of his press, was the second volume of Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*. Amongst the learned works of note, which he printed subsequently, were, the first volume of "*Epistolæ Regum Scottorum*," 1722, for which he wrote a preface; "*Ovidii Excerpta ex Metamorphoseon Libris*," containing English Notes, by Willymot and himself, 1723; *Herodian*, 1724; *Pars Prima* of his own *Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones*, 1725, which brought him a great accession of fame and profit; and *Pars Secunda* of the same work. He also printed, in 1733, "*A Dissertation upon the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue*."

In 1718, Mr Ruddiman took an active part in forming a literary society—the first, it is believed, which was established in Edinburgh. It was originally composed of the masters of the high school, but was soon joined by many of the most eminent persons in the city; amongst these was Mr Henry Home, afterwards lord Kames. Of the proceedings of this society, however, nothing is known, as its records, if there ever were any, have all disappeared.

It had long been an object of Mr Ruddiman's ambition, after he became a printer, to obtain the appointment of printer to the university, and he was at length gratified with the office. In 1728, he was nominated, conjunctly with James Davidson, printer to the college, during the lives of both, (so their patent ran,) and during the life of the longest liver. Previously to this, viz., in 1724, Mr Ruddiman began to print the continuation of the *Caledonian Mercury* for Rolland, who was then its proprietor; but in 1729, he acquired the whole interest in that paper, which was transferred to him in March of the year just named, and continued in his family till 1772, when it was sold by the trustees of his grandchildren.

Notwithstanding the variety and importance of his numerous avocations, Mr Ruddiman still retained the appointment of assistant-librarian in the Advocates' library, and never allowed any of these avocations to interfere, in the smallest degree, with the faithful and diligent discharge of the duties of that office. He was still, however, up to the year 1730, but assistant-librarian, the situation of principal keeper being in the possession of Mr John Spottiswood; but in the year named, his long and faithful services in the library were rewarded by the chief appointment, on the death of Mr Spottiswood. In Mr Ruddiman's case, however, this promotion was entirely honorary, for it was unaccompanied by any additional salary.

Mr Ruddiman's reputation as a Latinist now stood so high, that he was employed to translate public papers. Amongst these, he translated the charter of the Royal Bank from English into Latin, before the seals were affixed to it; and also the city of Edinburgh's "*Charter of Admiralty*." His wealth, in the mean time, was improving apace. All his undertakings succeeded with him, and his diligence and economy turned them to the best account. He was in the habit of making periodical estimates of his riches, which he entered in his memorandum books. These show a gradual increase in his wealth, and discover that it had amounted in 1736 to £1985 6s. 3d.

Amongst the last of his literary labours, was an elaborate preface, or rather introduction, to Anderson's "*Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*;" an able and learned disquisition on various subjects of antiquity. Being now in the sixty-fifth year of his age, he ceased, for a time, after the completion of the work just spoken of, from every kind of literary employment; and, nearly at the same period, resigned his half of the printing concern to his son, allowing, however, his name to remain in the firm, in order to continue its credit.

During the summer of 1745, Mr Ruddiman, to avoid the dangers of the rebellion, retired to the country, where he resided for several months, amusing himself by literary pursuits. He afterwards prepared a *Parv Tertia* to his *Grammaticæ Latinæ, &c.*, but did not adventure on its publication, as he feared the sale would not pay the expense. He subsequently, however, published an abstract of this work, subjoined to what is called his *Shorter Grammar*, of which he received, in 1756, the royal privilege of being exclusive printer. In 1751, the venerable grammarian's sight began to fail him, and, under this affliction, finding that he could no longer conscientiously retain the appointment of keeper of the Advocates' library, he resigned it early in the year 1752, after a faithful discharge of the duties of librarian in that institution of nearly half a century. The latter years of Mr Ruddiman's life were embittered by a political controversy, into which he was dragged by the vanity and pertinacity of Mr George Logan, who persecuted him with unrelenting virulence in no less than six different treatises, which he wrote against the political principles avowed in Mr Ruddiman's *Annotations on Buchanan*, particularly that which asserted the hereditary rights of the Scottish kings. Mr Ruddiman died at Edinburgh on the 19th of January, 1757, in the eighty-third year of his age; and his remains were interred in the Greyfriars' church-yard of that city. A handsome tablet to the memory of Ruddiman, was erected in 1806, in the New Greyfriars' church, at the expense of his relative, Dr William Ruddiman, late of India. It exhibits the following inscription:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THAT CELEBRATED SCHOLAR AND WORTHY MAN,
THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A. M.,
KEEPER OF THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY NEAR FIFTY YEARS.
Born, October, 1674, within three miles of the town of Banff;
Died at Edinburgh, 19th January, 1757,
In his eighty-third year.
Post obitum, benefacta manent, æternaque virtus,
Non metuit Stygis ne rapiatur aquis.

RUNCIMAN, ALEXANDER, a painter of considerable note, was the son of a builder in Edinburgh, where he was born in the year 1736. Having shown in his earliest years a decided inclination for drawing, his father furnished him with the proper materials; and while a mere boy, he roved through the fields, taking sketches of every interesting piece of landscape which fell in his way. At fourteen, he was placed under the care of Messrs John and Robert Norrie, house-painters; the former of whom used to adorn the mantle-pieces of the houses which he was employed to paint, with landscapes of his own, which were then deemed respectable productions, and of which many a specimen is still preserved in the houses of the old town of Edinburgh. The youth devoted himself entirely to his art. "Other artists," said one who had been his companion, "talked meat and drink; but Runciman talked landscape." About this time, the academy for rearing young artists was commenced at Glasgow by the brothers Foulis, and Runciman became one of its pupils. He soon acquired considerable local fame for his landscapes, but failed entirely to make a living by them. Despairing of success in this branch of art, he commenced history-painting; and in 1766, visited Italy, where he met Fuseli, whose wild and distempered character matched aptly with his own. He spent five years in Rome, assiduously studying and copying the Italian masters; and in 1771, re-

turned to his native country, with powers considerably increased, while his taste, formerly over-luxuriant and wild, had experienced a corresponding improvement. Just at that time a vacancy had occurred in the mastership of a public institution, called the 'Trustees' academy; and the place, to which was attached a salary of £120, was offered to and accepted by Runciman. Being thus secured in the means of bare subsistence, he applied his vacant time to his historical painting, and produced a considerable number of specimens, which, though not destitute of faults, were regarded with much favour, not only in his native country, where native talent of this kind was a novelty, but also in England, where several of them were exhibited. Among the productions of Runciman may be mentioned, Macbeth and Banquo, in a landscape; a Friar, in a landscape; Job in Distress; Samson strangling the Lion; Figure of Hope; St Margaret landing in Scotland, and her Marriage to Malcolm Canmore in Dunfermline abbey; Christ talking to the Woman of Samaria; Agrippina landing with the Ashes of Germanicus; the Princess Nausica surprised by Ulysses; Andromeda; Sigismunda weeping over the Heart of Tancred; the Ascension (in the Cowgate episcopal chapel, Edinburgh); the Prodigal Son (for which Ferguson the poet was the study); and the paintings in Ossian's Hall at Pennycuik. The work last mentioned was the *chef d'œuvre* of Runciman, and is allowed to be one of no small merit, though not exempt from his usual faults. The design was his own, but was only carried into effect through the liberality of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, the representative of a family which has been remarkable throughout a century for talent, enlightened views, and patronage of men of genius. The principal paintings are twelve in number, referring to the most striking passages in the work called Ossian's Poems. The task was one of no small magnitude, but the painter dreamt of rivalling the famed Sistine Chapel, and laboured at his work with only too much enthusiasm. In consequence of having to paint so much in a recumbent posture, and perhaps denying himself that exercise which the physical powers demand, he contracted a malady which carried him slowly to the grave. He died, October 21, 1785, dropping down suddenly on the street, when about to enter his lodgings.

Runciman was remarkable for candour and simplicity of manners, and possessed a happy talent for conversation, which caused his company to be courted by some of the most eminent literary men of his time. Hume, Robertson, Kames, and Monboddo, were among the number of his frequent visitors. But his real worth and goodness of heart were best known to his most intimate friends, who had access to him at all times. Nor was he less remarkable for his readiness in communicating information and advice to young artists, in order to further their improvement in the arts. His pupil, John Brown, has passed the following judgment upon his merits as a painter:—"His fancy was fertile, his discernment of character keen, his taste truly elegant, and his conceptions always great. Though his genius seems to be best suited to the grand and serious, yet many of his works amply prove that he could move with equal success in the less elevated line of the gay and the pleasing. His chief excellence was composition, the noblest part of the art, in which it is doubtful whether he had any living superior. With regard to the truth, the harmony, the richness, and the gravity of colouring,—in that style, in short, which is the peculiar characteristic of the ancient Venetian, and the direct contrast of the modern English school, he was unrivalled. His works, it must be granted, like all those of the present times, were far from being perfect; but it was Runciman's peculiar misfortune, that his defects were of such a nature as to be obvious to the most unskilful eye; whilst his beauties were of a kind, which

few have sufficient taste or knowledge of the art to discern, far less to appreciate.

John Runciman, a brother of the above, was also a painter of some note, and produced, among other pieces, Judith with the Head of Holofernes; Christ with his Disciples going to Emmaus; King Lear and Attendants in the Storm; and the Pulling down of the Netherbow Port, usually attributed to Alexander, and which has the honour to be placed in the gallery of the duke of Sutherland. Of most of the pictures of both artists, engravings and etchings have been executed, some of the latter by themselves.

RUSSELL, ALEXANDER, author of the History of Aleppo, was born in Edinburgh, and reared for the medical profession. After finishing his studies in the university of that city, about the year 1734, he proceeded to London, and soon after went to Aleppo, where he settled as physician to the English factory in 1740. The influence of a noble and sagacious character was here soon felt, and Mr Russell became in time the most influential character in the place: even the pasha hardly entered upon any proceeding of importance without consulting him. After residing there for a considerable time, during which he wrote his History of Aleppo, he returned to his native country, and, settling in London, soon acquired an extensive and lucrative practice. His work was published there in 1755. He also contributed several valuable papers to the Royal and Medical societies. This excellent individual died in London, November 25, 1768.

Dr Russell was one of a family of seven sons, all of whom acquired the respect of the world. His younger brother, Patrick, succeeded him as physician to the factory at Aleppo, and was the author of a Treatise on the Plague, published in 1791, and Descriptions of Two Hundred Fishes collected on the coast of Coromandel, which appeared in 1803, in two volumes folio. Dr Patrick Russell died July 2, 1805, in his 79th year.

RUSSELL, WILLIAM, a historical and miscellaneous writer, was the elder son of Alexander Russell and Christian Ballantyne, residing at Windydoors, in the county of Selkirk, where he was born in the year 1741. At the neighbouring school of Innerleithen, he acquired a slender knowledge of Latin and Greek, and, having removed in 1756, to Edinburgh, he there studied writing and arithmetic for about ten months. This completed the amount of his school education. He now commenced an apprenticeship of five years, under Messrs Martin and Wotherspoon, booksellers and printers, during which period he added considerably to his stock of knowledge by private study. At the end of his apprenticeship, he published a selection of modern poetry, which was thought judicious, and helped to extend the reputation of Gray and Shenstone in his native country. In 1763, while working as a journeyman printer, he became a member of a literary association styled the Miscellaneous Society, of which Mr Andrew Dalzell, afterwards professor of Greek in the Edinburgh university, and Mr Robert Liston, afterwards Sir Robert, and ambassador at Constantinople, were also members. To these two gentlemen he submitted a translation of Crebillon's "Rhadamisthe et Zenobie," which, after their revival, was presented to Garrick, but rejected. Not long after he seems to have formed an intimacy with Patrick lord Elibank, who invited him to spend some time at his seat in East Lothian, and encouraged him in the prosecution of a literary career. He therefore relinquished his labours as a printer; and after spending a considerable time in study at his father's house in the country, set out, in May 1767, for London. Here he was disappointed in his best hopes, and found it necessary to seek subsistence as corrector of the press to Mr Strachan, the celebrated printer. While prosecuting this employment,

he published several essays in prose and verse, but without fixing the attention of the world in any eminent degree. His "Sentimental Tales" appeared in 1770; his "Fables, Sentimental and Moral," and translation of Thomas's "Essay on the Character of Women," in 1772; and his "Julia," a poetical Romance, in 1774. Other pieces were scattered throughout the periodical works. His success was nevertheless such as to enable him to give up his office at the press, and depend upon his pen for subsistence. After an unsuccessful History of America, he produced, in 1779, the first two volumes of the work by which alone his name has been rescued from oblivion—"The History of Modern Europe:" the three remaining volumes appeared in 1784.

This has ever since been reckoned a useful and most convenient work on the subject which it treats. "It possesses," says Dr Irving, with whose opinion we entirely concur, "great merit, as a popular view of a very extensive period of history. The author displays no inconsiderable judgment in the selection of his leading incidents, and in the general arrangement of his materials; and he seems to have studied the philosophy of history with assiduity and success. His narrative is always free from languor; and his liberal reflections are conveyed in a lively and elegant style." Dr Irving states that, in the composition of each volume of this book, the author spent twelve months. He closed the history with the peace of Paris in 1763; and it has been continued to the close of the reign of George IV., by Dr Coote and other writers.

Mr Russell's studies were interrupted for a while in 1780, by a voyage to Jamaica, which he undertook for the purpose of recovering some money left there by a deceased brother. In 1787, he married Miss Scott, and retired to a farm called Knottlyholm, near Langholm, where he spent the remainder of his days in an elegant cottage on the banks of the Esk. In 1792, he received the degree of doctor of laws from St Andrews, and in the ensuing year published the first two volumes of a "History of Ancient Europe," which is characterized by nearly the same qualities as the former work. He did not live, however, to complete this undertaking, being cut off by a sudden stroke of palsy, December 23, 1793. He was buried in the church-yard of the parish of Westerkirk. This accomplished writer left a widow and a daughter.

Dr Russell was a man of indefatigable industry. Before he had perfected one scheme, another always presented itself to his mind. Besides two complete tragedies, entitled "Pyrrhus," and "Zenobia," he left behind him an analysis of Bryant's Mythology, and the following unfinished productions: 1. The earl of Strafford, a tragedy. 2. Modern Life, a comedy. 3. The Love Marriage, an opera. 4. Human Happiness, a poem intended to have been composed in four books. 5. A Historical and Philosophical View of the Progress of mankind in the knowledge of the Terraqueous Globe. 6. The History of Modern Europe, Part III. from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the general pacification in 1783. 7. The History of England from the beginning of the reign of George III. to the conclusion of the American war. In the composition of the last of these works he was engaged at the time of his death. It was to be comprised in three volumes 8vo, for the copyright of which Mr Cadell had stipulated to pay seven hundred and fifty pounds.

"Dr Russell," says one who knew him,¹ "without exhibiting the graces of polished life, was an agreeable companion, and possessed a considerable fund of general knowledge, and a zeal for literature and genius which approached to

¹ Mr Alexander Chalmers, in his General Biographical Dictionary—*Art.* WILLIAM RUSSELL.

enthusiasm. In all his undertakings he was strictly honourable, and deserved the confidence reposed in him by his employers."

RUTHERFORD, JOHN, a learned physician of the eighteenth century, was the son of the reverend Mr Rutherford, minister of the parish of Yarrow, in Selkirkshire, and was born, August 1, 1695. After going through a classical course at the school of Selkirk, and studying mathematics and natural philosophy at the Edinburgh university, he engaged himself as apprentice to a surgeon in that city, with whom he remained till 1716, when he went to London. He there attended the hospitals, and the lectures of Dr Douglas on anatomy, Audré on surgery, and Strother on materia medica. He afterwards studied at Leyden, under Boerhaave, and at Paris and Rheims; receiving from the university of the latter city his degree of M. D. in July, 1719.

Having, in 1721, settled as a physician in Edinburgh, Dr Rutherford was one of that fraternity of able and distinguished men;—consisting, besides, of Monro, Sinclair, Plummer, and Innes,—who established the medical school, which still flourishes in the Scottish capital. Monro had been lecturing on anatomy for a few years, when, in 1725, the other gentlemen above mentioned began to give lectures on the other departments of medical science. When the professorships were finally adjusted on the death of Dr Innes, the chair of the practice of medicine fell to the share of Dr Rutherford. He continued in that honourable station till the year 1765, delivering his lectures always in Latin, of which language it is said he had a greater command than of his own. About the year 1748, he began the system of clinical lectures; a most important improvement in the medical course of the university. After retiring, in 1765, from his professional duties, Dr Rutherford lived, highly respected by all the eminent physicians who had been his pupils, till 1779, when he died in the eighty-fourth year of his age. This venerable person, by his daughter Anne Rutherford, was the grandfather of that eminent ornament of modern literature, Sir Walter Scott.

RUTHERFORD, SAMUEL, a celebrated divine, was born about the year 1600, in the parish of Nisbet, (now annexed to Crailing,) in Roxburghshire, where his parents seem to have been engaged in agricultural pursuits. The locality and circumstances of his early education are unknown. He entered, in 1617, as a student at the university of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of master of arts in 1621. Nothing has been recorded of the rank he held, or the appearances he made as a student, but they must have been at least respectable; for at the end of two years, we find him elected one of the regents of the college. On this occasion, he had three competitors; one of them of the same standing with himself, and two of them older. Of these, Mr Will, a master of the high school, according to Crawford, in his history of the university, "pleased the judges best, for his experience and actual knowledge; yet the whole regents, out of their particular knowledge of Mr Samuel Rutherford, demonstrated to them his eminent abilities of mind and virtuous dispositions, where-with the judges being satisfied, declared him successor in the profession of humanity." How he acted in this situation, we have not been told; nor did he continue long enough to make his qualifications generally apparent, being forced to demit his charge, as asserted by Crawford, on account of some scandal in his marriage, towards the end of the year 1625, only two years after he had entered upon it. What that scandal in his marriage was, has never been explained; but it is presumed to have been trifling, as it weighed so little in the estimation of the town council of Edinburgh, the patrons of the university, that they granted him "ane honest gratification at his demission;" and at a subsequent period, in conjunction with the presbytery, warmly solicited him

to become one of the ministers of the city, particularly with a view to his being appointed to the divinity chair in the university, so soon as a vacancy should take place; and they were disappointed in their views with regard to him, only by the voice of the general assembly of the church, which appointed him to St Andrews. Relieved from the duty of teaching others, Mr Rutherford seems now to have devoted himself to the study of divinity under Mr Andrew Ramsay, whose prelections, it is not improbable, he frequented during the time he acted as a regent in teaching humanity. Theology, indeed, in those days, was conjoined with every part of education. This was particularly the case in the college of Edinburgh, where the principal, every Wednesday, at three o'clock, delivered a lecture upon a theological subject, to the whole of the students, assembled in the common hall. The students were also regularly assembled every Sunday morning in their several class-rooms, along with their regents, where they were employed in reading the Scriptures; after which they attended with their regents the public services of religion; returned again to the college, and gave an analysis of the sermons they had heard, and of the portion of Scripture they had read in the morning. By these means, their biblical knowledge kept pace with their other acquirements, and they were insensibly trained to habits of seriousness and devotion. In this manner were all our early reformers educated; and though they spent less time in the theological class, properly so called, than is generally done in modern times, judging by the effects that followed their administrations, as well as by the specimens of their works that yet remain, they were not less qualified for their work, than any of those who have succeeded them. When, or by whom Mr Rutherford was licensed to preach the gospel, has not been recorded; but in the year 1627, he was settled pastor of the parish of Anwoth, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Anwoth, before the Reformation, had been a dependency on the monastery of St Mary's Isle; but was united *quoad sacra* to Kirkdale and Kirkmabreck, and the three parishes were under the ministry of one clergyman. In consequence of "this most inconvenient union," the people of Anwoth had sermon only every alternate Sabbath. It was now, however, disjoined from the other parishes, and a place of worship had been newly built for their accommodation; which, though the parish has erected a modern and more elegant church, is still preserved, and regarded, for the sake of the first occupant, the subject of this memoir, with a kind of religious veneration. The disjunction of the parishes had been principally effected by the exertions of John Gordon of Kennmure, afterwards created viscount Kennmure, who had selected the celebrated Mr John Livingstone to occupy it. Circumstances, however, prevented that arrangement from taking effect; and "the Lord," says Livingstone in his memoirs, "provided a great deal better for them, for they got that worthy servant of Christ, Mr Samuel Rutherford." Of the manner of his settlement, we know no particulars; only that, by some means or other, he succeeded in being settled without acknowledging the bishops, which was no easy matter at that time. Perhaps no man ever undertook a pastoral charge with a more thorough conviction of its importance than Rutherford; and the way had been so well prepared before him, that he entered upon it with great advantages, and his endeavours were followed by very singular effects. The powerful preaching of Mr John Welsh, aided by his other labours of love, had diffused a spirit of religion through all that district, which was still vigorous, though he had left Kirkcudbright seventeen years before.

Rutherford was accustomed to rise every morning at three o'clock. The early part of the day he spent in prayer and meditation; the remainder he devoted to the more public duties of his calling, visiting the sick, catechising his

flock, and instructing them, in a progress from house to house. "They were the cause and objects," he informs us, "of his tears, care, fear, and daily prayers. He laboured among them early and late; and my witness," he declares to them, "is above, that your heaven would be two heavens to me, and the salvation of you all, as two salvations to me." Nor were his labours confined to Anwoth. "He was," says Livingstone, "a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country, who had been the fruits of the ministry of Mr John Welsh, the time he had been at Kirkcudbright;" and the whole country, we are told by Mr McWard, accounted themselves his particular flock.

In the month of June, 1630, Mr Rutherford was bereaved of his wife, after an illness of upwards of thirteen months, when they had been yet scarcely five years married. Her disease seems to have been attended with severe pain, and he appears to have been much affected by her sufferings. "My wife," he observes in one of his letters, "is still in exceeding great torment, night and day. Pray for us, for my life was never so wearisome to me. God hath filled me with gall and wormwood; but I believe (which holds up my head above the water) it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." Her death seems to have greatly distressed him, and, though he nowhere in his correspondence ventures to introduce the subject directly, he frequently alludes to it in terms of the deepest tenderness. He was himself afflicted, at the time of his wife's death, with a fever which lasted for thirteen weeks, and which left him at last in a state of such debility, that it was long before he could perform the duties of his calling. At this period his widowed mother lived with him, and for a time probably managed his family affairs. She too, however, died before he left Anwoth in 1636. In the month of September, 1634, Mr Rutherford lost his great patron, John Gordon, who had been created in the previous year viscount of Kenmure, and a storm was now brooding over him which was soon to drive him from his station at Anwoth. He even went the length of allowing them their own choice of any man, if they would avoid Rutherford, who intreated them to try the Lord if they had warrant of him to seek no man in the world but one only when there are choice of good men to be had. The see of Galloway in the mean time became vacant by the death of Lamb, who was succeeded by Sydserff, bishop of Brechin, an Arminian, and a man of the most intolerant disposition. This appointment gave a new turn to affairs in that quarter. A person of sentiments altogether opposite to those of the people of Kirkcudbright, was forced upon them, while their old and valuable pastor was forbidden the exercise of any part of his office. Nor did Rutherford escape. He had been summoned before the high commissioners in the year 1630, at the instance of a profligate person in his parish. Sydserff, bishop of Galloway, had erected a high commission court within his own diocese, before which Rutherford was called, and deprived of his office in 1636. This sentence was immediately confirmed by the high commission at Edinburgh, and he was sentenced before the 20th of August to confine himself within the town of Aberdeen till it should be the king's pleasure to relieve him. The crimes charged against him were, preaching against the Articles of Perth, and writing against the Arminians. The time allowed him did not permit of his visiting his friends or his flock at Anwoth; but he paid a visit to David Dickson at Irvine, whence he wrote, "being on his journey to Christ's palace at Aberdeen." He arrived at his place of confinement within the time specified; being accompanied by a deputation from his parish of Anwoth. His reception in this great stronghold of Scottish episcopacy was not very gratifying. The learned doctors, as the clergy of Aberdeen were called *par excellence*, hastened to let him feel their superiority, and to display the loyalty of their faith by confuting the principles

held by the persecuted stranger. The pulpits were everywhere made to ring against him, and Dr Barron, their principal leader, did not scruple to attack him personally for his antipathy to the doctrines of Arminius and the ceremonies; "but three yokings," Rutherford afterwards wrote, "laid him by, and I have not been since troubled with him." Notwithstanding the coolness of his first reception, he soon became popular in Aberdeen, and his sentiments beginning to gain ground, the doctors were induced to petition the court that he might be removed still farther north, or banished from the kingdom. This last seems to have been determined on, and a warrant by the king forwarded to Scotland to that effect; the execution of which was only prevented by the establishment of the Tables at Edinburgh, and the consequent downfall of episcopacy. In consequence of these movements, Rutherford ventured to leave Aberdeen, and to return to his beloved people at Anwoth, in the month of February, 1638, having been absent from them rather more than a year and a half. His flock had, in the mean time, successfully resisted all the efforts of Sydsersliff to impose upon them a minister of his own choosing. It is not probable, however, that after this period, they enjoyed much of the ministrations of Rutherford, as we soon after find him actively employed in the metropolis in forwarding, by his powerful and impressive eloquence, the great work of reformation which was then going so successfully forward. On the renewal of the Covenant, he was deputed, along with Mr Andrew Cant, to prepare the people of Glasgow for a concurrence in that celebrated instrument. He was also a delegate from the presbytery of Kirkcudbright to the general assembly, which met in that city in November, 1638, and was by that court honourably assoilzied from the charges preferred against him by the bishops and the high commission. To the commission of this assembly applications were made by the corporation of Edinburgh to have Mr Rutherford transported from Anwoth, to be one of the ministers of that city, and by the university of St Andrews to have him nominated professor of divinity to the new college there. To the latter situation he was appointed by the commission, greatly against his own mind, and to the no small grief of the people of Anwoth, who omitted no effort to retain him. The petitions of the parish of Anwoth, and of the county of Galloway on this occasion are both preserved, and never were more honourable testimonies borne to the worth of an individual, or stronger evidence afforded of the high estimation in which his services were held. The public necessities of the church, however, were supposed to be such as to set aside all private considerations, and Rutherford proceeded to the scene of his new duties in October, 1639. On the 19th of that month, having previously entered upon his labours in the college, he was inducted by the presbytery as colleague to Mr Robert Blair in the church of St Andrews, which seems at this time to have been no very pleasing situation. In the days of Melville and Buchanan the university was the most flourishing in the kingdom; now it was become, under the care of the bishops, the very nursery of superstition in worship, and error in doctrine: "but God," says one of Rutherford's pupils, "did so singularly second his indefatigable pains, both in teaching and preaching, that the university forthwith became a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars for building the house of God throughout the land." In the Assembly of 1640, Rutherford was involved in a dispute respecting private society meetings, which he defended along with Messrs Robert Blair and David Dickson, against the greater part of his brethren, who, under the terrors of independency, which in a short time overspread the land, condemned them. It was probably owing to this dispute, that two years afterwards he published his "Peaceable Plea for Paul's Presbytery," an excellent and temperate treatise; equally remote from anarchy on

the one hand, and that unbending tyranny which presbytery has too often assumed on the other. In 1642, he received a call to the parish of West Calder, which he was not permitted to accept, though he seems to have been desirous of doing so. He was one of the commissioners from the general assembly of the church of Scotland to the Westminster assembly, where his services were acknowledged by all parties to have been of great importance. The other commissioners from the general assembly of the church of Scotland, were permitted to visit their native country by turns, and to report the progress which was made in the great work; but Rutherford never quitted his post till his mission was accomplished. His wife (for he married the second time after entering upon his charge at St Andrews,) and all his family, seem to have accompanied him. Two of his children, apparently all that he then had, died while he was in London. He had also along with him as his amanuensis, Mr Robert M'Ward, afterwards minister of the Tron church, Glasgow, and who was banished for nonconformity at the Restoration. Mr Rutherford exerted himself to promote the common cause, not only in the assembly, but by means of the press, in a variety of publications, bearing the impress of great learning and research, combined with clear and comprehensive views of the subjects of which they treated. The first of these was the "Due right of Presbytery, or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland," a work of great erudition, and which called forth a reply from Mr Mather of New England; one of the best books that has yet been produced on that side of the question. The same year he published "Lex Rex," a most rational reply to a piece of insane loyalty emitted by John Maxwell, the excommunicated bishop of Ross. Next year, 1645, he published "The Trial and Triumph of Faith," an admirable treatise of practical divinity; and, in 1646, "The Divine Right of Church Government, in opposition to the Erastians." In 1647, he published another excellent piece of practical theology, "Christ dying and drawing Sinners," which was followed next year, though he had then returned to Scotland, by a "Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist," written against Saltmarsh, Dee, Town, Crisp, Eaton, and the other Antinomians of that day. In 1649, he published at London a "Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience," particularly directed against the Independents. All of these productions are highly honourable to the talents of the author, and place his industry and fertility of mind in a singularly favourable point of view. Rutherford, in returning to the former scene of his professorial and pastoral labours, must have felt agreeably relieved from the business and the bustle of a popular assembly, and hoped, probably, that now he might rest in his lot. Far otherwise, however, was the case. He was, in January, 1649, at the recommendation of the commission of the general assembly, appointed principal of the New college, of which he was already professor of divinity; and not long after, he was elevated to the rectorship of the university. An attempt had also been made, in the general assembly of 1649, to have him removed to the university of Edinburgh, which, Baillie says, "was thought to be absurd, and so was laid aside." He had an invitation at the same time to the chair of divinity and Hebrew in the university of Hardewyrk in Holland, which he declined; and on the 20th of May, 1651, he was elected to fill the divinity chair in the university of Utrecht. This appointment was immediately transmitted to him by his brother, Mr James Rutherford, then an officer in the Dutch service, who, by the way fell into the power of an English cruiser, and was stripped of everything, and confined a prisoner in Leith, till he was, through the intervention of the States, set at liberty. As he had, in consequence of this disaster, nothing but a verbal invitation to offer, Rutherford refused to accept it. James Rutherford returned

directly to Holland, and the magistrates of Utrecht, still hoping to succeed, sent him back with a formal invitation in the end of the same year. Rutherford seems now to have been in some degree of hesitation, and requested six months to advise upon the subject. At the end of this period, he wrote to the patrons of the college, thanking them for the high honour they had done him, but informing them, that he could not think of abandoning his own church in the perilous circumstances in which it then stood.

The whole of the subsequent life of Samuel Rutherford was one continued struggle with the open and concealed enemies of the church of Scotland. After the Restoration, when, though infirm in body, his spirit was still alive to the cause of religion, he recommended that some of the Protesters should be sent to the king, to give a true representation of the state of matters in the church, which he well knew would never be done by Sharpe, whom the Resolution party had employed, and in whom they had the most perfect confidence. When the Protesters applied to the Resolution party to join them in such a necessary duty, they refused to have any thing to do with their more zealous brethren; and when these met at Edinburgh to consult on the matter, they were dispersed by authority, their papers seized, and the principal persons among them imprisoned. This was the first act of the committee of estates after the Restoration; and it was composed of the same persons who had sworn to the covenant along with Charles ten years before. The next act of the committee, was an order for burning "Lex Rex," and punishing all who should afterwards be found in possession of a copy. The book was accordingly burnt, with every mark of indignity, at the cross of Edinburgh; a ceremony which Sharpe repeated in front of the new college, beneath Mr Rutherford's windows, in St Andrews. Rutherford was at the same time deprived of his situation in the college, his stipend confiscated, himself confined to his own house, and cited to appear before the ensuing parliament, on a charge of high treason. Before the meeting of parliament, however, he was beyond the reach of all his enemies. He had long been in bad health, and now the utter ruin that he saw coming on the church entirely broke his spirit. Sensible that he was dying, he published, on the 26th of February, 1661, a testimony to the Reformation in Great Britain and Ireland. This testimony occupies ten octavo pages, and is remarkably clear and particular. Of his last moments we can afford space only for a very brief account. He seemed to enjoy a singular rapture and elevation of spirit. "I shall shine," he said; "I shall see him as he is: I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him, and I shall have my share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; these very eyes of mine, and none for me. I disclaim," he remarked at the same time, "all that ever God made me will or do, and I look upon it as defiled or imperfect, as coming from me. But Christ is to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. Of the schisms that had rent the church," he remarked, "those whom ye call Protesters are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those of the opposite party, who have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice. But I believe the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob. Oh to obtain mercy to wrestle with God, for their salvation!" To his only surviving child (a daughter) he said, "I have left you upon the Lord; it may be you will tell this to others, that the lines are fallen to me in pleasant places. I have got a goodly heritage. I bless the Lord that he gave me counsel." His last words were, "Glory, glory dwelleth in Immanuel's land;" and he expired on the morning of the 20th of March, 1661, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Mr Rutherford was unquestionably one of the most able, learned, and con-

sistent presbyterians of his age ; while in his Familiar Letters, published posthumously, he evinces a fervour of feeling and fancy, that, in other circumstances, and otherwise exerted, would have ranked him among the most successful cultivators of literature. Wodrow has observed, that those who knew him best, were at a loss which to admire, his sublime genius in the school, or his familiar condescensions in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church.

RYMER, THOMAS, of Ercildon, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, and otherwise styled Thomas Learmont, was a distinguished person of the thirteenth century. So little is known respecting him, that even his name has become a matter of controversy. How the name of LEARMONT came to be given him, is not known ; but in none of the early authorities do we find it ; and although it has long been received as the bard's patronymic, it is now, by inquiring antiquaries, considered a misnomer. In a charter granted by his son and heir to the convent of Soltra, he is called *Thomas Rymer de Erceldun*. Robert de Brunne, Fordun, Barbour, and Winton, call him simply Thomas of Erceldoun, while Henry the minstrel calls him Thomas Rymer.

Erceldoune, or, according to the modern corruption, Earlstown, is a small village on the right bank of the Leader water, in Berwickshire. At the western extremity of this village, stand, after a lapse of seven centuries, the ruins of the house which Thomas inhabited, called *Rhymer's Tower* ; and in the front wall of the village church, there is a stone with this inscription on it :—

Auld Rymer's race
Lies in this place.

The poet must have lived during nearly the whole of the thirteenth century. His romance of "Sir Tristram" is quoted by Gottfried of Strasburg, who flourished about 1230 ; and it is known he was alive, and in the zenith of his prophetic reputation, in 1286, at the death of Alexander III. He must have been dead, however, before 1299, as that is the date of the charter, in which his son calls himself *Filius et hæres Thomæ Rymour de Erceldon*. Henry the minstrel makes him take a part in the adventures of Wallace, in 1296 ; so, if this authority is to be credited, he must have died between that year and 1299.

To this day, the name of Thomas the Rhymer is popularly known in Scotland as a prophet ; and it is only by a late discovery of the MS. of a metrical romance called "Sir Tristram," that he has acquired a less exceptionable claim to remembrance. "The Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer," were published, in Latin and English, at Edinburgh, in 1615, and have been repeatedly reprinted, copies of them being still to be found among the country people of Scotland. He is mentioned in his prophetic capacity by many of our early writers. Among the most noted of his predictions, is the following, regarding the death of Alexander III., which is thus narrated by Boece, as translated by Ballenden :— "It is said, the day afore the kingis dethe, the erle of Marche demandit ane prophet namit Thomas Rhymour, otherwayis namit Ersiltoun, quhat wedder suld be on the morow. To quhome answerit this Thomas, that on the morow afore none, sall blow the gretist wynd that ever was hard afore in Scotland. On the morow, quhen it was neir noon the list appering loane, but ony din or tempest, the erle send for this prophait, and reprevit hym that he prognosticat sic wynd to be, and nae apperance thairof. This Thomas maid litel answer, bot said, nown is not yet gane. And incontinent ane man came to the yet, schawing the king was slain. Than said the prophet, yone is the wynd that

sall blaw to the gret calamity and truble of all Scotland. Thomas wes ane man of gret admiration to the peple, and schaw sundry thingis as thay fell." The common sense translation of this story is, that Thomas presaged to the earl of March that the next day would be windy; the weather proved calm; but news arrived of the death of Alexander III., which gave an allegorical turn to the prediction, and saved the credit of the prophet.

Barbour, Winton, Henry the Minstrel, and others, all refer to the prophetic character of Thomas. In Barbour's *Bruce*, written about 1370, the bishop of St Andrews is introduced as saying, after Bruce had slain the Red Cumin:—

I hop Thomas' prophecy
Off Hersildowne, werefyd be
In him; for swa our Lord halp me,
I haiff gret hop he schall be king,
And haiff this land all in leding.

Bruce, ii. 86.

Wintoun's words are these:—

Of this sychit quhilum spak Thomas
Of Erceeldome, that sayd in derne,
Thare suld meet stalwarty, stark, and sterne.
He sayd it in his prophecie,
But how he wist, it was ferly.

Henry the Minstrel represents him as saying, on being falsely told that Wallace was dead:—

"Forsuth, or he decess,
Mony thousand on feild sall mak thar end.
And Scotland thriss he sall bring to the pess;
So gud of hand agayne sall nevir be kend."

Wallace, B. ii. ch. 3.

How far Rymer himself made pretensions to the character of a prophet, and how far the reputation has been conferred upon him by the people in his own time and since, it is impossible to determine. It is certain, however, that in almost every subsequent age, metrical productions came under public notice, and were attributed to him, though, it might be supposed, they were in general the mere coin of contemporary wits, applied to passing events. There are, nevertheless, a considerable number of rhymes and proverbial expressions, of an antique and primitive character, attributed to Thomas the Rhymer, and applicable to general circumstances: of some of these we deem it by no means unlikely that they sprung from the source to which they are ascribed, being in some instances only such exertions of foresight, as a man of cultivated understanding might naturally make; and in others, dreamy vaticinations of evil, which never have been, and perhaps never will, be realized. Many of these may be found in the *Border Minstrelsy*, and in "*Popular Rhymes of Scotland*," and the "*Picture of Scotland*," compilations by the editor of the present dictionary. It may also be mentioned, as illustrative of the forceful character of this early and obscure genius, that he and his predictions are as well known in the Highlands and Hebrides as in our southern counties. The *Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine*, 1833, gives the two following *Gaelic* predictions, as imputed to him by the Highlanders:—

"Cuiridh fiaicil nan caoraich an crann air an sparr."

The teeth of the sheep will lay the plough on the shelf.

"Bitluidh muileann air gach alt, agus àth air gach enoc; tombac aig na buachailleann, a's gruagaichean gun naire." i. e. There shall be a mill on every brook, a kiln on every height; herds shall use tobacco, and young women shall be without shame.

In the introduction to Robert de Brunne's *Annals*, written about 1238, Thomas of Erceldoune is commemorated as the author of the incomparable romance of *Sir Tristrem*. Gottfried of Strasburg, also, a German minstrel of the 13th century, already alluded to, says, that many of his profession told the tale of *Sir Tristrem* imperfectly and incorrectly; but that he derived his authority from "Thomas of Britannia, [evidently our Thomas,] master of the art of romance, who had read the history in British books, and knew the lives of all the lords of the land, and made them known to us." This work, of our poet was considered to be lost, till a copy of it was discovered among the Auchinleck MSS. belonging to the library of the faculty of advocates, Edinburgh, and published, with introduction and notes, by Sir Walter Scott.

From the opening lines of this copy, viz.

I was at Erceldoune;
With Tomas spak y thare;
Ther herd y rede in rounne,
Who Tristrem gat and bare, &c

a doubt has arisen whether it be the identical romance composed by Thomas of Erceldoune, which was preferred by his contemporaries to every minstrel tale of the time. But the celebrated editor very satisfactorily demonstrated, from the specific marks by which Robert de Brunne, a contemporary of Thomas, describes the work, that this must be the genuine *Sir Tristrem*, taken, probably, from the recitation of a minstrel who had heard and retained in his memory the words of Thomas. The date of the MS. does not seem to be much later than 1330, which makes an interval of about forty years between it and the author's time, a period in which some corruptions may have been introduced, but no material change in the formation of the language. Accordingly, the structure of the poem bears a peculiar character. The words are chiefly those of the fourteenth century; but the turn of phrase is, either from antiquity or the affectation of the time when it was written, close, nervous, and concise, even to obscurity. The stanza is very complicated, consisting of eleven lines, of which the 1st, 3d, 5th, and 7th rhyme together, as do the 2d, 4th, 6th, 8th, and 10th. A single stanza will serve to show its intricate and difficult structure. This one speaks of the education of *Tristrem* by *Roland*:

Fiftene yere he gan him fede,
Sir Rohant the trewe;
He taught him ich alede,
Of ich maner of glewe;
And everich playing thede,
Old lawes and newe;
On hunting oft he yede,
To swiche alawe he drewe,
Al thus;
More he couthe of veneri,
Than couthe Manerious.

It may be remarked that a complicated verse has been a favourite among the Scottish poets down to the present time. Burns, for instance, has injured some of his best pieces by adopting the jingling stanza of the "Cherry and the Slae."

By the recovery of this work, Scotland can lay claim to a poem more ancient than England; and, indeed, it would appear from what is said by Robert de Brunne, and other circumstances, that the *gests* of the northern minstrels were written in an ambitious and ornate style which the southern harpers marred in repeating, and which plebeian audiences were unable to comprehend; in other words, that the English language received its first rudiments of improvement in this corner of the island, where it is now supposed to be most corrupted.

S

SAGE, (the Right Reverend) JOHN, was born in 1652, in the parish of Creich, in the north-east part of the county of Fife, where his ancestors had lived with much respect, but little property, for seven generations; his father was a captain in lord Duffus's regiment, which was engaged in the defence of Dundee, when it was stormed and taken by the parliamentary general, Monk, on the 30th August, 1651. Captain Sage's property was diminished in proportion to his loyalty, and all the fortune he had to bestow on his son was a liberal education and his own principles of loyalty and virtue. Young Sage received the rudiments of his education at the school of his native parish, and at a proper age was removed to the university of St Andrews, where he remained during the usual course, performing the exercises required by the statutes of the Scottish universities, and where he took the degree of master of arts in the year 1672. He made letters his profession; but, his means being narrow, he was compelled to accept the office of parochial schoolmaster of Bingry in Fife, from which parish he was soon afterwards removed to the same office in Tippermuir, near Perth. Though, in these humble stations, he wanted many of the necessaries, and all the comforts of life, he prosecuted his studies with unwearied diligence; unfortunately, however, in increasing his stock of learning, he imbibed the seeds of several diseases, which afflicted him through the whole of his life, and, notwithstanding the native vigour of his constitution, tended ultimately to shorten his days. To the cultivated mind of such a man as Sage, the drudgery of a parish school must have been an almost intolerable slavery; he therefore readily accepted the offer from Mr Drummond of Cultmalundie, of a situation in his family, to superintend the education of his sons. He accompanied these young persons to the grammar school of Perth, and afterwards attended them in the same capacity of tutor to the university of St Andrews. At Perth, he acquired the esteem of Dr Rose, who was afterwards bishop of Edinburgh, and one of the most distinguished men of his age; and at St Andrews, he obtained the friendship and countenance of all the great literary characters of the period.

In 1684, the education of his pupils was completed, and he was again thrown on the world without employment, without prospects, and without any means of subsistence. His friend, Dr Rose, however, having been promoted from the station of parish minister at Perth to the chair of divinity at St Andrews, did not forget young Sage at this moment of indecision and helpless-

ness, but recommended him so effectually to his uncle, Dr Rose, then archbishop of Glasgow, that he was by that prelate admitted into priest's orders, and presented to one of the city churches. At the period of his advancement in the church he was about thirty-four years of age: his knowledge of the Scriptures was very great; and he had studied ecclesiastical history, with the writings of all the early fathers of the church: he was thorough master of school divinity, and had entered deeply into the modern controversies, especially those between the Romish and the Protestant churches, and also into the disputes among the rival churches of the Reformation. He was in consequence very highly esteemed by his brethren, and was soon after appointed clerk of the diocesan synod of Glasgow, an office of great responsibility.

During the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, from the Restoration of Charles II. till the year 1690, the authority of the bishops in the government of the church was exceedingly limited; they possessed indeed the sole power of ordination, but their government was shared by presbyteries and diocesan synods, in which they presided as perpetual moderators, having only the insignificant prerogative of a negative voice over the deliberation of these assemblies. The bishop delivered also a charge to the presbyters at the opening of these meetings, which, with the acts of the synodal or presbyterial meetings, was registered by the clerk, who was always one of the most eminent of the diocesan clergy. In all this period there were neither liturgy, nor forms, nor ceremonies, nor surplices, nor black gowns, nor any mark whatever by which a stranger, on entering a parish church, could discover that any difference in worship or external appearance existed between the established episcopal church and the tolerated presbyterian chapel; and we believe it is an established fact, that so much were the minds of the moderate presbyterians reconciled to episcopacy, that almost all the indulged ministers, with their congregations, took the communion at the parish churches with the episcopal clergy, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II.

Mr Sage continued to officiate as clerk of the diocese, and as a parish minister in Glasgow, till the Revolution in 1688. In executing the duties of his pastoral office, he gained the esteem and affection not only of his own parishioners, but even of the presbyterians; so much so, that when the common people took the reformation of the church into their own hands, and, with no gentle means, turned the episcopal clergy of the western shires out of their churches and livings, he was treated in a manner which was considered as comparatively lenient and humane, being warned privately "to shake off the dust from his feet and withdraw from Glasgow, and never venture to appear there again." Many of his brethren were trimmers both in ecclesiastical as well as political affairs; they had been presbyterians and republicans in the days of the Covenant, and when, from the signs of the times in the short reign of the infatuated and ill-advised James, a change in the establishment seemed to be approaching, these over-zealous converts to episcopacy suddenly became all gentleness and condescension to the presbyterians, whom they now courted and caressed. Sage's conduct was the reverse of this; he was heartily and from conviction an episcopalian and a royalist; and in all his discourses in public and private he laboured to instil those principles into the minds of others. To the persecution of others for difference of opinion he was always steadily opposed, not from any indifference to all opinions, but from a spirit of perfect charity, for he never tamely betrayed through fear what he knew it was his duty to maintain, notwithstanding his indulgence to the prejudices of others.

Thus expelled from Glasgow, he sought shelter in Edinburgh, carrying with him the synodical books, which, it would appear, he had delivered to bishop

Rose, for, after the death of that venerable ecclesiastic, they were found in his possession, and delivered by his nephew to the presbytery of Glasgow. These books had been repeatedly demanded by the new presbytery, but had always been refused from a hope still lingering in Sage's mind that a second restoration should take place; but as the captivity of the Jews always increased in duration, in proportion to their number, so has that of the episcopal church of Scotland. Partly to contribute towards that restoration for which he ardently longed, and partly to support himself under that destitution to which he was now reduced, he commenced as polemical writer, to the infinite annoyance of his adversaries: the following is a list of his works, which are now scarce, and chiefly to be found in the libraries of those who are curious in such things:—

1. The second and third letters concerning the persecution of the episcopal clergy in Scotland, printed in London in 1689. The first letter was written by the Rev. Thomas Morer, and the fourth by professor Monro.

2. An Account of the late establishment of presbyterian government by the parliament of Scotland in 1690. London, 1693.

3. The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery. London, 1695.

4. The Principles of the Cyprianic age, with regard to episcopal power and jurisdiction. London, 1695.

5. A Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianic Age. London, 1701.

6. Some Remarks on a letter from a gentleman in the city to a minister in the country, on Mr David Williamson's sermon before the General Assembly. Edinburgh, 1703.

7. A brief examination of some things in Mr Meldrum's sermon preached on the 6th May, 1703, against a toleration to those of the episcopal persuasion. Edinburgh, 1703.

8. The reasonableness of a toleration of those of the episcopal persuasion, inquired into purely on church principles, 1704.

9. The Life of Gavin Douglas, 1710.

10. An introduction to Drummond's History of the Five Jameses, Edinburgh, 1711.

He left, besides, several manuscripts on various subjects that are mentioned in his life by bishop Gillan, and which were published at London in 1714.

On his retirement to the metropolis, he began to officiate to a small body who still adhered to the displaced church; but, peremptorily refusing to take the oaths to the revolution government, such was then the rigour of the officers of state, and the violence of the populace, that he was ere long compelled at once to demit his charge, and to leave the city, his person being no longer deemed safe. In this extremity, he was received into the family, and enjoyed the protection and friendship of Sir William Bruce, then sheriff of Kinross, who approved of his principles, and admired his virtues. Here he remained till 1696. On the imprisonment of his patron, Sir William, who was suspected of disaffection to the government, he ventured in a clandestine manner to visit him in Edinburgh castle; but his persecutors would give him no respite; he was obliged again to flee for his life to the Grampian hills, where he lived destitute and penniless under the assumed name of Jackson.

After he had wandered in a destitute state for some time among the Braes of Angus, the countess of Callander offered him an asylum, and the appointment of domestic chaplain for her family, and tutor for her sons. Here he continued for some time, and when the young gentlemen intrusted to his charge were no longer in want of his instructions, he accepted an invitation from Sir John Stewart of Grantully, who desired the assistance of a chaplain, and the conver-

sation of a man of letters. In this situation he remained till the necessities of the church required the episcopal order to be preserved by new consecrations. The mildness of his manners, the extent of his learning, and his experience recommended him as a fit person on whom to bestow the episcopal character. He was accordingly consecrated a bishop, on the 25th January, 1705, when no temporal motives could have induced him to accept an office at all times of great responsibility, but at that time of peculiar personal danger. His consecrators were John Paterson, the deprived archbishop of Glasgow, Dr Alexander Rose, deprived bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, deprived bishop of Dunblane.

Soon after his promotion, this illustrious man was seized with that illness, the seeds of which had been sown in the difficulties and privations of his youth. After patiently lingering a considerable time in Scotland without improvement, the persecutions to which he was subjected increasing his malady, he was induced to try the efficacy of the waters at Bath, in 1709. But this also failed him: the seat of his disease lay deeper than medical skill could reach. He remained a year at Bath and London, where the great recognized, and the learned caressed and courted him, and where it was the wish of many distinguished persons that he should spend the remainder of his life. The love of his country and of his native church, overcame all entreaties, and he returned to Scotland in 1710, with a debilitated body, but a mind as vigorous as ever. Immediately on his arrival, he engaged with undiminished ardour in the publication of Drummond's Works, to which Ruddiman, whose friendship he had for many years enjoyed, lent his assistance. Worn out with disease and mental anguish, bishop Sage died at Edinburgh, on 7th June, 1711, lamented by his friends, and feared by his adversaries. His friend Ruddiman always spoke of him as a companion whom he esteemed for his worth, and as a scholar whom he admired for his learning. Sage was unquestionably a man of great ability, and even genius. It is to be lamented, however, that his life and intellect were altogether expended in a wrong position, and on a thankless subject. All the sophistical ingenuity that ever was exerted, would have been unable to convince the great majority of the Scottish people, that the order of bishops was of scriptural institution, or that the government of the two last male Stuarts, in which a specimen of that order had so notable a share, was a humane or just government. He was a man labouring against the great tide of circumstances and public feeling; and, accordingly, those talents, which otherwise might have been exerted for the improvement of his fellow creatures, and the fulfilment of the grand designs of providence, were thrown away, without producing either immediate or remote good. How long have men contended about trifles—what ages have been permitted to elapse uselessly—how many bright minds have been lighted up, and quenched—before even a fair portion of reason has been introduced into the habits of thinking, and the domestic practice of the race.

SCOTT, MICHAEL, a learned person of the thirteenth century, known to the better informed as a philosopher, and to the illiterate, especially of Scotland, as a wizard, or magician, was born about the year 1214. The precise locality of his birthplace is unknown, although that honour has been awarded to Balwearie, in Fife, but on insufficient authority. Neither is there any thing known of his parents, nor of their rank in life; but, judging of the education he received, one of the most liberal and expensive of the times, it may be presumed that they were of some note.

Scott early betook himself to the study of the sciences; but, soon exhausting all the information which his native country afforded in those unlettered times, he repaired to the university of Oxford, then enjoying a very high reputation,

and devoted himself, with great eagerness and assiduity, to philosophical pursuits, particularly astronomy and chemistry; in both of which, and in the acquisition of the Latin and Arabic languages, he attained a singular proficiency. At this period, astronomy, if it did not assume entirely the shape of judicial astrology, was yet largely and intimately blended with that fantastic but not unimpressive science; and chemistry was similarly affected by the not less absurd and illusive mysteries of alchymy: and hence arose the imaginary skill and real reputation of Scott as a wizard, or foreteller of events; as, in proportion to his knowledge of the true sciences, was his imputed acquaintance with the false.

On completing his studies at Oxford, he repaired, agreeably to the practice of the times, to the university of Paris. Here he applied himself with such diligence and success to the study of mathematics, that he acquired the academic surname of Michael the Mathematician; but neither his attention nor reputation were confined to this science alone. He made equal progress, and attained equal distinction in sacred letters and divinity; his acquirements in the latter studies being acknowledged, by his having the degree of doctor in theology conferred upon him.

While in Paris, he resumed, in the midst of his other academical avocations, the study of that science on which his popular fame now rests, namely, judicial astrology, and devoted also a farther portion of his time to chemistry and medicine. Having possessed himself of all that he could acquire in his particular pursuits in the French capital, he determined to continue his travels, with the view at once of instructing and of being instructed. In the execution of this project, he visited several foreign countries and learned universities; and amongst the latter, that of the celebrated college at Padua, where he eminently distinguished himself by his essays on judicial astrology. From this period, his fame gradually spread abroad, and the reverence with which his name now began to be associated, was not a little increased by his predictions, which he, for the first time, now began to publish, and which were as firmly believed in, and contemplated with as much awe in Italy, where they were first promulgated, as they were ever at any after period in Scotland.

From Italy he proceeded to Spain, taking up his residence in Toledo, whose university was celebrated for its cultivation of the occult sciences. Here, besides taking an active part, and making a conspicuous figure in the discussions on these sciences, he began and concluded a translation, from the Arabic into Latin, of Aristotle's nineteen books on the History of Animals. This work procured him the notice, and subsequently the patronage of Frederick II., who invited him to his court, and bestowed on him the office of royal astrologer. While filling this situation, he translated, at the emperor's desire, the greater part of the works of Aristotle. He wrote, also, at the royal request, an original work, entitled "*Liber Introductorius sive Indicia Quæstionum*," for the use of young students; and a treatise on physiognomy, entitled "*Physiognomia et de Hominis Procreatione*;" besides several other works, of which one was on the "*Opinions of Astrologers*."

After a residence of some years at the court of Frederick, Michael resigned his situation, and betook himself to the study of medicine as a profession, and soon acquired great reputation in this art. Before parting with the emperor, with whom he seems to have lived on a more intimate and familiar footing, than the haughty and warlike disposition of that prince might have been expected to permit, he predicted to him the time, place, and manner of his death; and the prophecy is said to have been exactly fulfilled in every particular. After a residence of some years in Germany, he came over to Eng-

land, with the view of returning to his native country. On his arrival in the latter kingdom, he was kindly received and patronized by Edward I.; and, after being retained for some time at his court, was permitted to pass to Scotland, where he arrived shortly after the death of Alexander III. That event rendering it necessary to send ambassadors to Norway, to bring over the young queen, Margaret, or, as she is more poetically called, the Maid of Norway, grand-daughter of the deceased monarch, Michael Scott, now styled Sir Michael, although we have no account either of the time or occasion of his being elevated to this dignity, was appointed, with Sir David Weems, to proceed on this important mission, a proof that his reputation as a wizard had not affected his moral respectability. With this last circumstance, the veritable history of Sir Michael terminates; for his name does not again appear in connexion with any public event, nor is there any thing known of his subsequent life. He died in the year 1292, at an advanced age, and was buried, according to some authorities, at Holme Coltrame, in Cumberland; and, according to others, in Melrose abbey.

Although, however, all the principal authenticated incidents in the life of Sir Michael which are known, are comprehended in this brief sketch, it would take volumes to contain all that is told, and to this hour believed, by the peasantry of Scotland, of the terrible necromancer, *auld Michael*. For some curious specimens of the traditional character of the great magician of other days, the reader may be referred to the notes appended to the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*," by the still greater magician of modern times. He will there learn, how Sir Michael, on one occasion, rode through the air to France on a huge black horse; how the devil made an unsuccessful attempt to entrap him by the way; how, on another occasion, when

Maister Michael Scott's man,
Sought meat, and gat nane,

from a niggardly farmer, he threw down a bonnet which his master had previously enchanted, and which, becoming suddenly inflated, began to spin round the house with supernatural speed, and drew, by its magical influence, the whole household after it, man, maid, and mistress, who all continued the goblin chase, until they were worn out with fatigue. It may not, perhaps, be unnecessary to add, that all these *cantrips*, and a thousand more, were performed by the agency of a "mighty book" of necromancy, which no man, but on peril of soul and body, might open, or peruse, and which was at last buried in the same grave with its tremendous owner.

SCOTT, (SIR) WALTER, baronet, a distinguished poet and novelist, was born in Edinburgh, August 15, 1771. He was a younger son of Mr Walter Scott, writer to the signet, by Anne, daughter of Dr John Rutherford, professor of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. Sir Walter's father was grandson to a younger son of Scott of Raeburn, a branch of the ancient baronial house of Harden; and his mother was grand-daughter to Sir John Swinton, of Swinton, in Berwickshire. Being an ailing child, he was sent at a very early period of life to Sandyknow, a farm near the bottom of Leader water, in Roxburghshire, occupied by his paternal grandfather, where he had ample opportunities of storing his mind with border tradition. The first school he attended is said to have been one in Kelso, taught by a Mr Whale, where he had for school-fellows James and John Ballantyne, who subsequently became intimately connected with him in public life. He entered the high school of Edinburgh in 1779, when the class with which he was ranked (that of Mr Luke Fraser) was commencing its third season. Under this master he continued during two

years, after which he entered the rector's class, then taught by Mr Alexander Adam. In October, 1783, having completed the usual classical course, he was matriculated at the university of Edinburgh, studying *humanity*, or Latin, under professor Hill, and Greek under professor Dalzell. Another year under Dalzell, and a third in the logic class, taught by professor Bruce, appear to have formed the sum of his unprofessional studies at college. He was much devoted at this period to reading; and an illness, which interrupted his studies in his sixteenth year, afforded him an unusually ample opportunity of gratifying this taste. He read, by his own confession, all the old romances, old plays, and epic poems, contained in the extensive circulating library of Mr Sibbald (founded by Allan Ramsay); and soon after extended his studies to histories, memoirs, voyages, and travels. On the restoration of his health, he commenced, in his father's office, an apprenticeship to legal business, which was completed in July, 1792, by his entering at the Scottish bar.

The literary character of Scott is to be traced to the traditionary lore which he imbibed in the country, and the vast amount of miscellaneous reading above referred to, in conjunction with the study of the modern German poets and romancers, which he entered upon at a subsequent period. The earlier years of his life, as an advocate, were devoted rather to the last mentioned study, than to business; and the result was, a translation of "Burger's Lenore," and "Der Wilde Jäger," which he published in a small quarto volume in 1796. The success of this attempt was by no means encouraging; yet he persevered in his German studies, and, in 1799, gave to the world a translation of Göthe's "Goetz of Berlichingen." Previously to the latter event, namely, on the 24th December, 1797, he had married Miss Carpenter, a young Frenchwoman of good parentage, whom he accidentally met at Gilsland wells, in Cumberland, and who possessed a small annuity. It is also worthy of notice, that, in 1799, he was appointed sheriff of Selkirkshire, a respectable situation, to which an income of £300 was attached.

The success of Burger in ballad-writing, operating upon his predilection for that part of our own national poetry, induced him, about this time, to make several attempts in that line of composition, and soon after to commence the collection of those ancient original ballads, which in 1802 were published in two volumes octavo, as the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. On the reprinting of this work, in the ensuing year, he added a third volume, consisting chiefly of original ballads, by himself and others. The work was, upon the whole, a pleasing melange of history, poetry, and tradition; and it gained the author a considerable reputation, though certainly not that of an original poet in any eminent degree. In the annotations to the ancient romance of *Sir Tristrem*, which he published in 1804, he gave still more striking proof of the extent of his acquisitions in metrical antiquities.

It was not till the year 1805, when Scott had reached the age of thirty-four, and had a family rising around him, that he attracted decided attention as an original poet. He published in that year his "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*," an extended specimen of the ballad style, and one which fell upon the public mind as something entirely new in poetry. The caution which he may be said to have observed in coming before the world, arose from prudential considerations. He hesitated to come to a breach with his professional hopes, which a decided attempt in literature would have implied, before he should have attained something to assure him of a competency in the worst resort. This he had in some measure secured by his patrimony, his wife's annuity, and his salary as sheriff; but it was not till 1806, when he received the appointment of a principal clerk of session, that he considered himself at perfect liberty to

pursue a literary career. For this latter appointment, he was indebted to the interest of the Buccleuch and Melville families, which he had conciliated, partly by his talents, and partly by the zeal with which he entered into the volunteer system at the close of the past century. He succeeded Mr George Home, upon an arrangement, by which that gentleman was to enjoy the salary for life; so that it was not till 1811 that the poet reaped any actual benefit from it. The appointment was given by Mr Pitt, but was formally completed under the ensuing administration of Lord Grenville.

In 1808, Mr Scott published his second poem of magnitude, "*Marmion*," which displayed his metrical genius in greater perfection than the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and greatly increased his reputation. While the latter work had produced him £600, the present secured one thousand guineas. Previously to 1825, no fewer than thirty-six thousand copies of *Marmion* were sold. In the same year, Mr Scott published an edition of Dryden's works, with notes, and a life of that poet. In 1809, he edited the *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*; and soon after he became a contributor to the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, started by Mr Southey.

"*The Lady of the Lake*," in which his poetical genius seems to have reached the acme of its powers, was published in 1810. His earlier efforts were less matured and refined; and the later are all, in various degrees, less spirited and effective. In 1811 appeared "*Don Roderick*," a dreamy vaticination of modern Spanish history; in 1813 he published "*Rokeby*," in which he attempted, but without success, to invest English scenery and a tale of the civil war with the charm which he had already thrown over the Scottish Highlands and Borders, and their romantic inhabitants. *Rokeby* met with a decidedly unfavourable reception; and, it cannot be denied, the public enjoyed to a greater extent a burlesque, which appeared upon it, under the title of "*Jokeby*." The evil success of this poem induced him to make a desperate adventure to retrieve his laurels; and in 1814 he published "*The Lord of the Isles*." Even the name of Bruce, however, could not compensate the want of what had been the most captivating charm of his earlier productions—the development of new powers and styles of poesy. The public was now acquainted with his whole "*fence*," and could, therefore, take no longer the same interest in his exhibitions. As if to try how far his name now operated in promoting the sale of his writings, he produced, anonymously, two small poems in succession, "*Harold the Dauntless*," and "*The Bridal of Triermain*." Neither made any considerable impression upon the public; and he, therefore, seems to have concluded that poetry was no longer a line in which he ought to exercise his talents.

Many years before, while as yet unknown as a poet, he had commenced a prose tale upon the legendary story of Thomas the Rymer, which never went beyond the first chapter. Subsequently, he contemplated a prose romance, relating to an age much nearer our own time. "*My early recollections*," says he,¹ "of the Highland scenery and customs made so favourable an impression in the poem called the '*Lady of the Lake*,' that I was induced to think of attempting something of the same kind in prose. I had been a good deal in the Highlands at a time when they were much less accessible, and much less visited, than they have been of late years, and was acquainted with many of the old warriors of 1745, who were, like most veterans, easily induced to fight their battles over again, for the benefit of a willing listener like myself. It naturally occurred to me that the ancient traditions and high spirit of people, who, living in a civilized age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society, must afford a subject favourable for romance, if it should not prove a curious tale marred in the telling.

¹ In the auto-biographical introduction to the revised editions of his works.

"It was with some idea of this kind, that, about the year 1805, I threw together about one-third part of the first volume of *Waverley*. It was advertised to be published by the late Mr John Ballantyne, bookseller in Edinburgh, under the name of '*Waverley*.' * * * Having proceeded as far, I think, as the seventh chapter, I showed my work to a critical friend, whose opinion was unfavourable; and having some poetical reputation, I was unwilling to risk the loss of it by attempting a new style of composition. I therefore threw aside the work I had commenced, without either reluctance or remonstrance. * * * This portion of the manuscript was laid aside in the drawers of an old writing-desk, which, on my first coming to reside at Abbotsford in 1811, was placed in a lumber garret, and entirely forgotten. Thus, though I sometimes, among other literary avocations, turned my thoughts to the continuation of the romance which I had commenced, yet, as I could not find what I had already written, after searching such repositories as were within my reach, and was too indolent to attempt to write it anew from memory, I as often laid aside all thoughts of that nature."

The author then adverts to two circumstances, which particularly fixed in his mind the wish to continue this work to a close—namely, the success of Miss Edgeworth's delineations of Irish life, and his happening to be employed in 1808, in finishing the romance of *Queen-Hoo-Hall*, left imperfect by Mr Strutt. "Accident," he continues, "at length threw the lost sheets in my way."

"I happened to want some fishing-tackle for the use of a guest, when it occurred to me to search the old writing-desk already mentioned, in which I used to keep articles of that nature. I got access to it with some difficulty; and in looking for lines and flies, the long-lost manuscript presented itself. I immediately set to work to complete it, according to my original purpose. * * * Among other unfounded reports, it has been said that the copyright was, during the book's progress through the press, offered for sale to various booksellers in London at a very inconsiderable price. This was not the case. Messrs Constable and Cadell, who published the work, were the only persons acquainted with the contents of the publication, and they offered a large sum for it, while in the course of printing, which, however, was declined, the author not choosing to part with the copyright."

"*Waverley* was published in 1814, and as the title-page was without the name of the author, the work was left to win its way in the world without any of the usual recommendations. Its progress was for some time slow; but after the first two or three months, its popularity had increased in a degree which must have satisfied the expectations of the author, had these been far more sanguine than he ever entertained."

"Great anxiety was expressed to learn the name of the author, but on this no authentic information could be attained. My original motive for publishing the work anonymously, was the consciousness that it was an experiment on the public taste, which might very probably fail, and therefore there was no occasion to take on myself the personal risk of discomfiture. For this purpose, considerable precautions were used to preserve secrecy. My old friend and schoolfellow, Mr James Ballantyne, who printed these novels, had the exclusive task of corresponding with the author, who thus had not only the advantage of his professional talents, but of his critical abilities. The original manuscript, or, as it is technically called, *copy*, was transcribed under Mr Ballantyne's eye, by confidential persons; nor was there an instance of treachery during the many years in which these precautions were resorted to, although various individuals were employed at different times. Double proof-sheets were regularly printed off. One was forwarded to the author by Mr Ballantyne,

and the alterations which it received were, by his own hand, copied upon the other proof-sheet for the use of the printers, so that even the corrected proofs of the author were never seen in the printing office; and thus the curiosity of such eager inquirers as made the most minute investigation, was entirely at fault."

To this account of the publication of *Waverley* it is only to be added, that the popularity of the work became decided rather more quickly, and was, when decided, much higher, than the author has given to be understood. It was read and admired universally, both in Scotland and England, so that, in a very short time about twelve thousand copies were disposed of.

Previously to 1811, Mr Scott had been in the habit of residing, during the summer months, at a villa called Ashiestiel on the banks of the Tweed, near Selkirk, belonging to his kinsman colonel Russell. He now employed part of his literary gains in purchasing a farm a few miles farther down the Tweed, and within three miles of Melrose. Here he erected a small house, which he gradually enlarged, as his emoluments permitted, till it eventually became a Gothic castellated mansion of considerable size. He also continued for some years to make considerable purchases of the adjacent grounds, generally paying much more for them than their value. The desire of becoming an extensive land-proprietor was a passion which glowed more warmly in his bosom than any appetite which he ever entertained for literary fame. The whole cast of his mind, from the very beginning, was essentially aristocratic; and it is probable that he looked with more reverence upon an old title to a good estate, than upon the most ennobled title-page in the whole catalogue of contemporary genius. Thus it was a matter of astonishment to many, that, while totally insensible to flattery on the score of his works, and perfectly destitute of all the airs of a professed or practised author, he could not so well conceal his pride in the possession of a small patch of territory, or his sense of importance as a local dispenser of justice. As seen through the medium of his works, he rather appears like an old baron or chivalrous knight, displaying his own character and feelings, and surrounded by the ideal creatures which such an individual would have mixed with in actual life, than as an author of the modern world, writing partly for fame, and partly for subsistence, and glad to work at that which he thinks he can best execute. It was unquestionably owing to the same principle that he kept the *Waverley* secret with such pertinacious closeness—being unwilling to be considered as an author writing for fortune, which he must have thought somewhat degrading to the baronet of Abbotsford. It was now the principal spring of his actions to add as much as possible to the little realm of Abbotsford, in order that he might take his place—not among the great literary names which posterity is to revere, but among the country gentlemen of Roxburghshire!¹

Under the influence of this passion—for such it must be considered—Mr Scott produced a rapid succession of novels, of which it will be sufficient here to state the names and dates. To *Waverley* succeeded, in 1815, *Guy Mannering*; in 1816, the *Antiquary*, and the First Series of the *Tales of my Landlord*, containing the *Black Dwarf* and *Old Mortality*; in 1818, *Rob Roy*, and the Second Series of the *Tales of my Landlord*, containing the *Heart of Mid Lothian*; and in 1819, the Third Series of the *Tales of my Landlord*, containing the *Bride of Lammermoor*, and a *Legend of Montrose*.

It is to be observed, that the series, called "*Tales of my Landlord*," were

¹ Lest these speculations may appear somewhat paradoxical, the editor may mention that they were pronounced, by the late Mr James Ballantyne, in writing, to be "admirably true."

professedly by a different author from him of *Waverley*: an expedient which the real author had thought conducive to the maintenance of the public interest. Having now drawn upon public curiosity to the extent of twelve volumes in each of his two incognitos, he seems to have thought it necessary to adopt a third, and accordingly he intended *Ivanhoe*, which appeared in the beginning of 1820, to come forth as the first work of a new candidate for public favour. From this design he was diverted by a circumstance of trivial importance, the publication of a novel at London, pretending to be a fourth series of the *Tales of my Landlord*. It was therefore judged necessary that *Ivanhoe* should appear as a veritable production of the author of *Waverley*. To it succeeded, in the course of the same year, the *Monastery* and the *Abbot*, which were judged as the least meritorious of all his prose tales. In the beginning of the year 1821, appeared *Kenilworth*; making twelve volumes, if not written, at least published, in as many months. In 1822 he produced the *Pirate* and the *Fortunes of Nigel*; in 1823, *Peveril of the Peak* (four volumes) and *Quentin Durward*; in 1824, *St Ronan's Well* and *Redgauntlet*; in 1825, *Tales of the Crusaders* (four volumes); in 1826, *Woodstock*; in 1827, *Chronicles of the Canongate*, *first series* (two volumes); in 1828, *Chronicles of the Canongate*, *second series*; in 1829, *Anne of Geierstein*; and in 1831, a fourth series of *Tales of my Landlord*, in four volumes, containing two tales, respectively entitled *Count Robert of Paris*, and *Castle Dangerous*. The whole of these novels, except where otherwise specified, consisted of three volumes, and, with those formerly enumerated, make up the amount of his fictitious prose compositions to the enormous sum of seventy-four volumes.

Throughout the whole of his career, both as a poet and novelist, Sir Walter was in the habit of turning aside occasionally to less important avocations of a literary character. He was a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* during the first few years of its existence. To the *Quarterly Review*, he was a considerable contributor, especially for the last five or six years of his life, during which the work was conducted by his son-in-law, Mr Lockhart. To the *Supplement* of the sixth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he contributed the articles *Chivalry*, *Romance*, and the *Drama*. In 1818, he wrote one or two small prose articles for a periodical, after the manner of the *Spectator*, which was started by his friend Mr John Ballantyne, under the title of "*The Saleroom*," and was soon after dropped for want of encouragement. In 1814, he edited the *Works of Swift*, in nineteen volumes, with a life of the author. In 1814, Sir Walter gave his name and an elaborate introductory essay to a work, entitled "*Border Antiquities*," (two volumes, quarto,) which consisted of engravings of the principal antique objects on both sides of the Border, accompanied by descriptive letter-press. In 1815, he made a tour of France and Belgium, visiting the scene of the recent victory over Napoleon. The result was a lively traveller's volume, under the title of "*Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*," and a poem, styled "*The Field of Waterloo*." In the same year he joined with Mr Robert Jamieson and Mr Henry Weber, in composing a quarto on *Icelandic Antiquities*. In 1819, he published "*An Account of the Regalia of Scotland*," and undertook to furnish the letter-press to a second collection of engravings, under the title of "*Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*," one of the most elegant books which has ever been published respecting the native country of the editor.

In the year 1820, the agitated state of the country was much regretted by Sir Walter Scott; and he endeavoured to prove the absurdity of the popular excitement in favour of a more extended kind of parliamentary representation, by three papers, which he inserted in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* newspaper,

under the title of "The Visionary." However well intended, these were not by any means happy specimens of political disquisition. Some months afterwards, it was deemed necessary by a few Tory gentlemen and lawyers, to establish a newspaper, in which the more violent of the radical prints should be met upon their own grounds. To this association Mr Scott subscribed, and, by means partly furnished upon his credit, a weekly journal was commenced, under the title of "The Beacon." As the scurrilities of this print inflicted much pain in very respectable quarters, it sank, after an existence of a few months, amidst the general execrations of the community. Mr Scott, though he probably never contemplated, and perhaps was hardly aware of the guilt of the Beacon, was loudly blamed for his connexion with it.

In 1822, Sir Walter published "Trivial Poems and Triolets, by P. Carey, with a Preface;" and, in 1822, appeared his dramatic poem of "Halidon Hill." In the succeeding year, he contributed a smaller dramatic poem, under the title of "Macduff's Cross," to a collection of Miss Joanna Baillie. The sum of his remaining poetical works may here be made up, by adding "The Doom of Devorgoil," and "The Auchindrane Tragedy," which appeared in one volume in 1830. It cannot be said of any of these compositions, that they have made the least impression upon the public.

The great success of the earlier novels of Sir Walter Scott had encouraged his publishers, Messrs Archibald Constable and Company, to give large sums for those works; and, previous to 1824, it was understood that the author had spent from fifty to a hundred thousand pounds, thus acquired, upon his house and estate of Abbotsford. During the months which his official duties permitted him to spend in the country—that is, the whole of the more genial part of the year, from March till November, excepting the months of May and June—he kept state, like a wealthy country gentleman, at this delightful seat, where he was visited by many distinguished persons from England, and from the continent. As he scarcely ever spent any other hours than those between seven and eleven, A.M., in composition, he was able to devote the greater part of the morning to country exercise, and the superintendence of his planting and agricultural operations; while the evenings were, in a great measure, devoted to his guests. Almost every day, he used to ride a considerable distance—sometimes not less than twenty miles—on horseback. He also walked a great deal; and, lame as he was, would sometimes tire the stoutest of his companions.

Among the eminent persons to whom he had been recommended by his genius, and its productions, the late king George IV. was one, and not the least warm in his admiration. The poet of Marmion had been honoured with many interviews by his sovereign, when prince of Wales and prince regent; and his majesty was pleased, in March, 1820, to create him a baronet of the United Kingdom, being the first to whom he had extended that honour after his accession to the crown.

In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Sir Walter found the duty imposed upon him, as in some measure the most prominent man in the country, of acting as a kind of master of ceremonies, as well as a sort of dragoman, or mediator, between the sovereign and his people. It was an occasion for the revival of all kinds of historical and family reminiscences; and Sir Walter's acquaintance with national antiquities, not less than his universally honoured character, caused him to be resorted to by innumerable individuals, and many respectable public bodies, for information and advice. On the evening of the 14th of August, when his majesty cast anchor in Leith Roads, Sir Walter Scott went out in a boat, commissioned by the LADIES OF SCOTLAND, to welcome the king, and to present his majesty with an elegant jewelled cross of St Andrew, to be

worn on his breast, as a national emblem. When the king was informed of Sir Walter's approach, he exclaimed, "What! Sir Walter Scott? The man in Scotland I most wish to see! Let him come up." Sir Walter accordingly ascended the ship, and was presented to the king on the quarter-deck, where he met with a most gracious reception. After an appropriate speech, Sir Walter presented his gift, and then knelt and kissed the king's hand. He had afterwards the honour of dining with his majesty, being placed on his right hand. Throughout the whole proceedings connected with the reception and residence of the king in Scotland, Sir Walter Scott bore a very conspicuous part.

Sir Walter Scott had now apparently attained a degree of human greatness, such as rarely falls to the lot of literary men; and he was generally considered as having, by prudence, fairly negatived the evils to which the whole class are almost proverbially subject. It was now to appear, that, though he had exceeded his brethren in many points of wisdom, and really earned an unusually large sum of money, he had not altogether secured himself against calamity. The bookselling house with which he had all along been chiefly connected, was one in which the principal partner was Mr Archibald Constable, a man who will long be remembered in Scotland for the impulse which he gave by his liberality to the literature of the country, but at the same time for a want of calculation and prudence, which in a great measure neutralized his best qualities. It is difficult to arrive at exact information respecting the connexion of the author with his publisher, or to assign to each the exact degree of blame incidental to him, for the production of their common ruin. It appears, however, to be ascertained, that Sir Walter Scott, in his eagerness for the purchase of land, and at the same time to maintain the style of a considerable country gentleman, incurred obligations to Messrs Constable and Company, for money or acceptances, upon the prospect of works in the course of being written, or which the author only designed to write, and was thus led, by a principle of gratitude, to grant counter-acceptances to the bookselling house, to aid in its relief from those embarrassments, of which he was himself partly the cause. It is impossible otherwise to account for Sir Walter Scott having incurred liabilities to the creditors of that house, to the amount of no less than £72,000, while of its profits he had not the prospect of a single farthing.

On the failure of Messrs Constable and Company, in January, 1826, Messrs Ballantyne and Company, printers, of which firm Sir Walter Scott was a partner, became insolvent, with debts to the amount of £102,000, for the whole of which Sir Walter was, of course, liable, in addition to his liabilities for the bookselling house. It thus appeared that the most splendid literary revenue that ever man made for himself, had been compromised by a connexion, partly for profit, and partly otherwise, with the two mechanical individuals concerned in the mere bringing of his writings before the world. A percentage was all that these individuals were fairly entitled to for their trouble in putting the works of Sir Walter into shape; but they had absorbed the whole, and more than the whole, leaving both him and themselves poorer than they were at the beginning of their career.

The blow was endured with a magnanimity worthy of the greatest writer of the age. On the very day after the calamity had been made known to him, a friend accosted him as he was issuing from his house, and presented the condolences proper to such a melancholy occasion.

"It is very hard," said he, in his usual slow and *thoughtful* voice, "thus to lose all the labours of a lifetime, and be made a poor man at last, when I ought to have been otherwise. But if God grant me health and strength for a few years longer, I have no doubt that I shall redeem it all."

The principal assets which he could present against the large claims now made upon him, were the mansion and grounds of Abbotsford, which he had entailed upon his son, at the marriage of that young gentleman to Miss Jobson of Lochore, but in a manner now found invalid, and which were burdened by a bond for £10,000. He had also his house in Edinburgh, and the furniture of both mansions. His creditors proposed a composition; but his honourable nature, and perhaps a sense of reputation, prevented him from listening to any such scheme. "No, gentlemen," said he, quoting a favourite Spanish proverb, "Time and I against any two. Allow me time, and I will endeavour to pay all." A trust-deed was, accordingly, executed in favour of certain gentlemen, whose duties were to receive the funds realized by our author's labours, and gradually pay off the debts, with interest, by instalments. He likewise insured his life, with the sanction of his trustees, for the sum of £22,000, by which a *post-obit* interest to that amount was secured to his creditors. He was the better enabled to carry into execution the schemes of retrenchment which he had resolved on, by the death of lady Scott, in May, 1826. Her ladyship had born to him two sons and two daughters; of the latter of whom, the elder had been married, in 1820, to Mr J. G. Lockhart, advocate.

Sir Walter was engaged, at the time of his bankruptcy, in the composition of a *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, which was originally designed to fill only four volumes, but eventually extended to nine. In the autumn of 1826, he paid a visit to Paris, in company with his youngest and only unmarried daughter, in order to acquaint himself with several historical and local details, requisite for the work upon which he was engaged. On this occasion, he was received with distinguished kindness by the reigning monarch, Charles X. The "*Life of Napoleon*" appeared in summer, 1827; and, though too bulky to be very popular, and perhaps too hastily written to bear the test of rigid criticism, it was understood to produce to its author a sum little short of £12,000. This, with other earnings and accessory resources, enabled him to pay a dividend of six shillings and eightpence to his creditors.

Till this period, Sir Walter Scott had made no avowal to the public of his being the author of that long series of prose fictions, which had for some years engaged so much of public attention. It being no longer possible to preserve his incognito, he permitted himself, at a dinner for the benefit of the Edinburgh Theatrical Fund, February 23, 1827, to be drawn into a disclosure of the secret. On his health being proposed by lord Meadowbank, as the "*Great Unknown*," now unknown no longer, he acknowledged the compliment in suitable terms, and declared himself, unequivocally, to be the sole author of what were called the *Waverley Novels*.

About the same time, the copyright of all his past novels was brought to the hammer, as part of the bankrupt stock of Messrs Constable and Company. It was bought by Mr Robert Cadell, of the late firm of Archibald Constable and Company, and who was now once more engaged in the bookselling business, at £8,400, for the purpose of republishing the whole of these delightful works in a cheap uniform series of volumes, illustrated by notes and prefaces, and amended in many parts by the finishing touches of the author. Sir Walter or his creditors were to have half the profits, in consideration of his literary aid.

This was a most fortunate design. The new edition began to appear in June, 1829; and such was its adaptation to the public convenience, and the eagerness of all ranks of people to contribute in a way convenient to themselves towards the reconstruction of the author's fortunes, that the sale soon reached an average of twenty-three thousand copies. To give the reader an idea of the

magnitude of this *concern*—speaking commercially—it may be stated that, in the mere *production* of the work, not to speak of its sale, about a thousand persons, or nearly a hundredth part of the population of Edinburgh, were supported. The author was now chiefly employed in preparing these narratives for the new impression; but he nevertheless found time occasionally to produce original works. In November, 1828, he published the first part of a juvenile History of Scotland, under the title of “Tales of a Grandfather,” being addressed to his grandchild, John Hugh Lockhart, whom he typified under the appellation of Hugh Littlejohn, Esq. In 1829, appeared the second, and in 1830, the third and concluding series of this charming book, which fairly fulfilled a half-sportive expression that had escaped him many years before, in the company of his children—that “he would yet make the history of Scotland as familiar in the nurseries of England as lullaby rhymes.” In 1830, he also contributed a graver History of Scotland, in two volumes, to the periodical work called “Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopædia.” In the same year, appeared his Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, as a volume of Mr Murray’s “Family Library;” and, in 1831, he added to his Tales of a Grandfather, a uniform series on French history. In the same year, two sermons which he had written a considerable time before, for a young clerical friend, were published by that individual in London, and, as specimens of so great an author in an extraordinary line of composition, met with an extensive sale.

The profits of these various publications, but especially his share of the profits of the new edition of his novels, enabled him, towards the end of the year 1830, to pay a dividend of three shillings in the pound, which, but for the accumulation of interest, would have reduced his debts to nearly one-half. Of £54,000 which had now been paid, all except six or seven thousand had been produced by his own literary labours; a fact which fixes the revenue of his intellect for the last four or five years at nearly £10,000 a-year. Besides this sum, Sir Walter had also paid up the premium of the policy upon his life, which, as already mentioned, secured a *post obit* interest of £22,000 to his creditors. On this occasion, it was suggested by one of these gentlemen, (Sir James Gibson Craig,) and immediately assented to, that they should present to Sir Walter personally the library, manuscripts, curiosities, and plate, which had once been his own, as an acknowledgment of the sense they entertained of his honourable conduct.

In November, 1830, he retired from his office of principal clerk of session, with the superannuation allowance usually given after twenty-three years’ service. Earl Grey offered to make up the allowance to the full salary; but, from motives of delicacy, Sir Walter firmly declined to accept of such a favour from one to whom he was opposed in politics.

His health, from his sixteenth year, had been very good, except during the years 1818 and 1819, when he suffered under an illness of such severity as to turn his hair quite grey, and send him out again to the world apparently ten years older than before. It may be mentioned, however, that this illness, though accompanied by very severe pain, did not materially interrupt or retard his intellectual labours. He was only reduced to the necessity of employing an amanuensis, to whom he dictated from his bed. The humorous character, Dugald Dalgetty, in the third series of the Tales of my Landlord, and the splendid scene of the Siege of Torquilston in Ivanhoe, were created under these circumstances. Mr William Laidlaw, his factor, who at one time performed the task of amanuensis, has described how he would sometimes be stopped in the midst of some of the most amusing or most elevated scenes, by an attack of pain—which being past, he would recommence in the same tone at the point

where he had left off, and so on for day after day, till the novel was finished.

It happened very unfortunately, that the severe task which he imposed upon himself, for the purpose of discharging his obligations, came at a period of life when he was least able to accomplish it. It will hardly be believed that, even when so far occupied with his official duties in town, he seldom permitted a day to pass over his head without writing as much as to fill a sheet of print, or sixteen pages; and this, whether it was of an historical nature, with of course the duty of consulting documents, or of fictitious matter spun from the loom of his fancy. Although this labour was alleviated in the country by considerable exercise, it nevertheless must have pressed severely upon the powers of a man nearly sixty *by years*, and fully seventy *by constitution*. The reader may judge how strong must have been that principle of integrity, which could command such a degree of exertion and self-denial, not so much to pay debts contracted by himself, as to discharge obligations in which he was involved by others. He can only be likened, indeed, to the generous elephant, which, being set to a task above its powers, performed it at the expense of life, and then fell dead at the feet of its master.

His retirement from official duty might have been expected to relieve in some measure the pains of intense mental application. It was now too late, however, to redeem the health that had fled. During the succeeding winter, symptoms of gradual paralysis, a disease hereditary in his family, began to be manifested. His contracted limb became gradually weaker and more painful, and his tongue less readily obeyed the impulse of the will. In March, 1831, he attended a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Roxburgh, to aid in the expression of disapprobation, with which a majority of those gentlemen designed to visit the contemplated reform bills. Sir Walter was, as already hinted, a zealous Tory, though more from sentiment, perhaps, than opinion, and he regarded those regenerating measures as only the commencement of the ruin of his country. Having avowed this conviction in very warm language, a few of the individuals present by courtesy, expressed their dissent in the usual vulgar manner; whereupon he turned, with anger flashing in his eye—with him a most unwonted passion—and said, that he cared no more for such expressions of disapproval than he did for the hissing of geese or the braying of asses. He was evidently, however, much chagrined at the reception his opinions had met with, and in returning home was observed to shed tears.

During the summer of 1831, the symptoms of his disorder became gradually more violent; and to add to the distress of those around him, his temper, formerly so benevolent, so imperturbable, became peevish and testy, insomuch that his most familiar relatives could hardly venture, on some occasions, to address him. At this period, in writing to the editor of the present work, he thus expressed himself:—

“Although it is said in the newspapers, I am actually far from well, and instead of being exercising (*sic*), on a brother novelist, Chateaubriand, my influence to decide him to raise an insurrection in France, which is the very probable employment allotted to me by some of the papers, I am keeping my head as cool as I can, and speaking with some difficulty.

“I have owed you a letter longer than I intended, but write with pain, and in general use the hand of a friend. I sign with my initials, *as enough to express the poor half of me that is left*. But I am still much yours,

“W. S.”

Since the early part of the year, he had, in a great measure, abandoned the pen for the purposes of authorship. This, however, he did with some difficulty,

and it is to be feared that he resumed it more frequently than he ought to have done. "Dr Abercromby," says he, in a letter dated March 7, "threatens me with death if I write so much; and die, I suppose, I must, if I give it up suddenly. I must assist Lockhart a little, for you are aware of our connexion, and he has always showed me the duties of a son; but, except that, and my own necessary work at the edition of the Waverley Novels, as they call them, I can hardly pretend to put pen to paper; for after all this same dying is a ceremony one would put off as long as possible."

In the autumn, his physicians recommended a residence in Italy, as a means of delaying the approaches of his illness. To this scheme he felt the strongest repugnance, as he feared he should die on a foreign soil, far from the mountain-land which was so endeared to himself, and which he had done so much to endear to others; but by the intervention of some friends, whose advice he had been accustomed to respect from his earliest years, he was prevailed upon to comply. By the kind offices of captain Basil Hall, liberty was obtained for him to sail in his majesty's ship the *Barham*, which was then fitting out for Malta.

He sailed in this vessel from Portsmouth, on the 27th of October, and on the 27th of December landed at Naples, where he was received by the king and his court with a feeling approaching to homage. In April, he proceeded to Rome, and was there received in the same manner. He inspected the remains of Roman grandeur with some show of interest, but was observed to mark with a keener feeling, and more minute care, the relics of the more barbarous middle ages; a circumstance, in our opinion, to have been predicated from the whole strain of his writings. He paid visits to Tivoli, Albani, and Frascati. If any thing could have been effectual in re-illuminating that lamp, which was now beginning to pale its mighty lustres, it might have been expected that *this* would have been the ground on which the miracle was to take place. But he was himself conscious, even amidst the flatteries of his friends, that all hopes of this kind were at an end. Feeling that his strength was rapidly decaying, he determined upon returning with all possible speed to his native country, in order that his bones might not be laid (to use the language of his own favourite minstrelsy) "far from the Tweed." His journey was performed too rapidly for his strength. For six days he travelled seventeen hours a-day. The consequence was, that in passing down the Rhine he experienced a severe attack of his malady, which produced complete insensibility, and would have inevitably carried him off; but for the presence of mind of his servant, who bled him profusely. On his arrival in London, he was conveyed to the St James's Hotel, Jermyn Street, and immediately attended by Sir Henry Hallford and Dr Holland, as well as by his son-in-law and daughter. All help was now, however, useless. The disease had reached nearly its most virulent stage, producing a total insensibility to the presence of even his most beloved relatives—

—"omni

Membrorum damno major, dementia, quæ nec
Nomina servorum, nec vultum agnoscit amici."

After residing for some weeks in London, in the receipt of every attention which filial piety and medical skill could bestow, the expiring poet desired that, if possible, he might be removed to his native land—to his own home. As the case was reckoned quite desperate, it was resolved to gratify him in his dying wish, even at the hazard of accelerating his dissolution by the voyage. He accordingly left London on the 7th of July, and, arriving at Newhaven on the evening of the 9th, was conveyed with all possible care to a hotel in his na-

tive city. After spending two nights and a day in Edinburgh, he was removed, on the morning of the 11th, to Abbotsford.

That intense love of home and of country, which had urged his return from the continent, here seemed to dispel for a moment the clouds of the mental atmosphere. In descending the vale of Gala, at the bottom of which the view of Abbotsford first opens, it was found difficult to keep him quiet in his carriage, so anxious was he to rear himself up, in order to catch an early glimpse of the beloved scene. On arriving at his house, he hardly recognized any body or any thing. He looked vacantly on all the objects that met his gaze, except the well-remembered visage of his friend Laidlaw, whose hand he affectionately pressed, murmuring, "that *now* he knew that he was at Abbotsford." He was here attended by most of the members of his family, including Mr Lockhart, while the general superintendence of his death-bed (now too certainly such) was committed to Dr Clarkson of Melrose. He was now arrived at that melancholy state, when the friends of the patient can form no more affectionate wish than that death may step in to claim his own. Yet day after day did the remnants of a robust constitution continue to hold out against the gloomy foe of life, until, notwithstanding every effort to the contrary, mortification commenced at several parts of the body. This was about twelve days before his demise, which at length took place on the 21st of September, (1832,) the principles of life having been by that time so thoroughly worn out, that nothing remained by which pain could be either experienced or expressed. On the 26th, the illustrious deceased was buried in an aisle in Dryburgh abbey, which had belonged to one of his ancestors, and which had been given to him by the late earl of Buchan.

Sir Walter Scott was in stature above six feet; but, having been lame from an early period of life in the right limb, he sank a little on that side in walking. His person was, in latter life, bulky, but not corpulent, and made a graceful appearance on horseback. Of his features, it is needless to give any particular description, as they must be familiar to every reader through the medium of the innumerable portraits, busts, and medallions, by which they have been commemorated. His complexion was fair, and the natural colour of his hair sandy. The portrait, by Raeburn, of which an engraving was prefixed to the *Lady of the Lake*, gives the best representation of the poet, as he appeared in the prime of life. The bust of Chantry, taken in 1820, affords the most faithful delineation of his features as he was advancing into age. And his aspect, in his sixtieth year, when age and reflection had more deeply marked his countenance, is most admirably preserved in Mr Watson Gordon's portrait, of which an engraving is prefixed to the new edition of his novels. There is, likewise, a very faithful portrait by Mr Leslie, an American artist.

Sir Walter Scott possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of imagination, with the gift of memory. If to this be added his strong tendency to venerate past things, we at once have the most obvious features of his intellectual character. A desultory course of reading had brought him into acquaintance with almost all the fictitious literature that existed before his own day, as well as the minutest points of British, and more particularly Scottish history. His easy and familiar habits had also introduced him to an extensive observation of the varieties of human character. His immense memory retained the ideas thus acquired, and his splendid imagination gave them new shape and colour. Thus, his literary character rests almost exclusively upon his power of combining and embellishing past events, and his skill in delineating natural character. In early life, accident threw his *visions* into the shape of verse—in later life, into prose; but, in whatever form they appear, the powers are not much different. The same magician is still at work, re-awaking the figures and events of

history, or sketching the characters which we every day see around us, and investing the whole with the light of a most extraordinary fancy.

It is by far the greatest glory of Sir Walter Scott, that he shone equally as a good and virtuous man, as he did in his capacity of the first fictitious writer of the age. His behaviour through life was marked by undeviating integrity and purity. His character as a husband and father is altogether irreproachable. Indeed, in no single relation of life does he appear liable to blame, except in the facility with which he yielded his fortunes into the power of others, of whom he ought to have stood quite independent. Laying this imprudence out of view, his good sense, and good feeling united, appear to have guided him aright through all the difficulties and temptations of life. Along with the most perfect uprightness of conduct, he was characterized by extraordinary simplicity of manners. He was invariably gracious and kind, and it was impossible ever to detect in his conversation a symptom of his grounding the slightest title to consideration upon his literary fame, or of his even being conscious of it.

By dint of almost incredible exertions, Sir Walter Scott had reduced the amount of his debts, at the time of his decease, to about £20,000, exclusive of the accumulated interest. On the 29th of October, a meeting of his creditors was called, when an offer was made by his family of that sum against the ensuing February, on condition of their obtaining a complete discharge. The meeting was very numerously attended, and the proposal was accepted without a dissentient voice. In addition to the resolution accepting the offer, and directing the trustees to see the acceptance carried into effect, the following resolution was moved and carried with a like unanimity:—

“And while the meeting state their anxious wish that every creditor, who is not present, may adopt the same resolution, they think it a tribute justly due to the memory of Sir Walter Scott, to express, in the strongest manner, their deep sense of his most honourable conduct, and of the unparalleled benefits which they have derived from the extraordinary exertion of his unrivalled talents, under misfortunes and difficulties, which would have paralyzed the exertions of any one else, but in him only proved the greatness of mind which enabled him to rise superior to them.”

SCOUGAL, HENRY, a theological writer of considerable eminence, was born in the end of June, 1650. He was descended of the family of the Scougals of that ilk, and was the son of Patrick Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen, from 1664 to 1682; a man whose piety and learning have been commemorated by bishop Burnet. His son Henry is said to have early displayed symptoms of those talents for which he was afterwards distinguished. We are told by Dr George Garden, that “he was not taken up with the plays and little diversions of those of his age; but, upon such occasions, did usually retire from them, and that not out of sullenness of humour or dulness of spirit, (the sweetness and serenity of whose temper did even then appear,) but out of a stayedness of mind, going to some privacy, and employing his time in reading, prayer, and such serious thoughts, as that age was capable of.”¹ Tradition has asserted that Scougal was led to the study of theology, in the hope of finding in it a balm for disappointed affections; and this is in so far countenanced by the tenor of several passages of his writings. Another cause, however, has been assigned, and apparently on better authority. “Being once in a serious reflection what course of life he should take, he takes up the Bible, to read a portion of it; and though he was always averse to the making a lottery of the Scriptures, yet he could not but take notice of the first words which he cast his eyes

¹ A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the reverend Henry Scougal, M. A. By G. G. [George Garden], D. D., p. 285.

upon, and which made no small impression on his spirit: 'By what means shall a young man learn to purify his way? By taking heed thereto according to thy word.' On his father's election to the see of Aberdeen, Scougal entered as a student at King's college there, of which university his father was chancellor. He seems to have taken the lead of his fellow students in almost every department of science; and, in addition to the usual branches of knowledge pursued in the university, to have acquired a knowledge of some of the Oriental tongues. Immediately on taking his degree, he was selected to assist one of the regents in the instruction of his class; and the next year, 1669, he was, at the early age of nineteen, appointed a professor. His immature age was probably incapable to preserve order in his class; at all events, tumults and insubordination broke forth among his students, of whom so many were expelled from the college, that he scarce had a class to teach. His office of regent, which was thus inauspiciously commenced, he held but for four years, having at the end of that time accepted the pastoral charge of the parish of Auchterless, in Aberdeenshire. He retained this charge no longer than a twelvemonth, and, in 1674, was appointed professor of divinity in the King's college; a chair which had shortly before been filled by the celebrated John Forbes of Corse, and more lately by William Douglas, the learned author of the "*Academiarum Vindiciæ*," and other works. As was customary in that age, Scougal printed a thesis on his accession to the divinity chair: this tract, which is still preserved and highly prized, is entitled, "*De Objecto cultus Religiosi*."

In 1677, appeared "*The Life of God in the Soul of Man, or the Nature and Excellency of the Christian religion*." This work, to which Scougal's modesty would not permit him to prefix his name, was edited by bishop Burnet, who appended to it a tract called "*An account of the Spiritual Life*," supposed to be written by himself. In the prefatory notice, Burnet states of the author, "that the book is a transcript of those divine impressions that were upon his own heart, and that he has written nothing in it but what he himself did well feel and know." The work passed at once into that extensive popularity and high reputation it has ever since enjoyed. Before 1727, it had gone through five editions, the last under the superintendence of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge. In 1735, it was again reprinted with the addition of "*Nine Discourses on Important Subjects*," and Dr Garden's funeral sermon; and in 1740, another edition appeared, with some "*Occasional Meditations*," not previously published. Since that period editions have multiplied very rapidly. In 1722, it was translated into French, and published at the Hague. Scougal survived the publication of his work for no longer than a twelvemonth. At the early age of twenty-eight, he died on the 13th of June, in the year 1678, and was interred on the north side of the chapel of King's college, where a tablet of black marble, bearing a simple Latin inscription was erected to his memory. He bequeathed a sum of five thousand merks to augment the salary of the professor of divinity in the university, and left his books to the college library. A portrait of Scougal is preserved in the college hall, and the countenance breathes all that serene composure, benevolence, purity, and kindness which so strikingly mark his writings. Besides the works which have been mentioned, Scougal left behind him in manuscript various juvenile essays, and some Latin tracts, among which are "*A short System of Ethics or Moral Philosophy*;" "*A Preservative against the Artifices of the Romish missionaries*," and a fragment "*On the Pastoral Cure*." This last work was designed for the use of students in divinity and candidates for holy orders. None of the least beautiful or remarkable of his works is "*The Morning and Evening Service*," which he composed for the Cathedral of Aberdeen, and which is characterized by a spirit

of fervid devotion, and a deep and singular elevation of thought, and solemnity of diction.

SCRINGER, HENRY, a learned person of the sixteenth century, was the son of Walter Scringer of Glasswell, who traced his descent from the Scringers or Scrimzeors of Dudhope, constables of Dundee, and hereditary standard-bearers of Scotland. The subject of this memoir was born at Dundee in 1506, and received the rudiments of his education in the grammar school of that town, where he made singular proficiency both in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards went through a course of philosophy in the university of St Andrews with great applause. From thence he proceeded to Paris to study civil law. He next removed to Bourges, where he studied for some time under Baro and Duaren, who were considered the two greatest lawyers of the age in which they lived. Here he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Amiot, who at that time filled the Greek chair at Bourges, and through his recommendation was appointed tutor to the children of secretary Boucherel. In this situation, which he filled to the entire satisfaction of his employers, Scringer became acquainted with Bernard Bœnetel, bishop of Rennes, who, on being appointed ambassador from the court of France to some of the states of Italy, made choice of him for his private secretary. With this dignity he travelled through the greater part of that interesting country, and was introduced to a great many of its most eminent and learned men. While on a visit to Padua, he had an opportunity of seeing the notorious apostate Francis Spira, of whose extraordinary case he wrote a narrative, which was published along with an account of the same case by Petrus Paulus Virgerus, Mattheus Gribaldus, and Sigismundus Gelous, under the following title "The history of Franciscus Spira, who fell into a dreadful state of despair because, having once assumed a profession of evangelical truth, he had afterwards recanted and condemned the same, most faithfully written by four most excellent men, together with prefaces by these illustrious men Caelius S.C. and John Calvin, and an apology by Petrus Paulus Virgerus, in all which, many subjects worthy of examination in these times are most gravely handled. To which is added the judgment of Martinus Borrhaus on the improvement which may be made of Spira's example and doctrine, 2 Pet. 2. 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of life,'" &c. The book is written in Latin, but has neither the name of printer, nor the place, or date of printing. It was, however, probably printed at Basil in the year 1550 or 1551. Deeply affected with the case of Spira, Scringer determined to sacrifice all the prospects, great as they were, which his present situation held out to him, and to retire into Switzerland, where he could profess the reformed religion without danger. It appears that he shortly after this entertained the idea of returning to Scotland; but, on his arrival in Geneva, he was invited by the syndics and magistrates of the city to set up a profession of philosophy for the instruction of youth, for which they made a suitable provision. Here he continued to teach philosophy for some time. A fire, however, happening in the city, his house was burnt to the ground with all that was in it, and he was in consequence reduced to great straits, though his two noble pupils, the Bucherels, no sooner heard of his misfortune than they sent him a considerable supply of money. It was at this time that Ulrich Fugger, a gentleman possessed of a princely fortune, and distinguished alike for his learning and for his virtues, invited him to come and live with him at Augsburg till his affairs could be put in order. This generous invitation Scringer accepted, and he lived with his benefactor at Augsburg for a number of years, during which he employed himself chiefly in collecting books and manuscripts, many of them exceedingly curious and valuable. Under the patronage of this amiable person he ap-

pears also to have composed several of his treatises, which he returned to Geneva to have printed. On his arrival, the magistrates of that city importuned him to resume his class for teaching philosophy. With this request he complied, and continued again in Geneva for two years, 1563 and 1564. In the year 1565, he opened a school for teaching civil law, of which he had the honour of being the first professor and founder in Geneva. This class he continued to teach till his death. In the year 1572, Alexander Young, his nephew, was sent to him to Geneva, with letters from the regent Marr, and George Buchanan, with the latter of whom he had been long in terms of intimacy; requesting him to return to his native country, and promising him every encouragement.

Buchanan had before repeatedly written to him, pressing his return to his native country, in a manner that sufficiently evinced the high esteem he entertained for him. The venerable old scholar, however, could not be prevailed on to leave the peaceful retreat of Geneva, for the stormy scenes which were now exhibiting in his native country; pleading, as an apology, his years and growing infirmities. The letters of Buchanan, however, were the means of awakening the ardour of Andrew Melville, (who was at that time in Geneva, and in the habit of visiting Scrimger, whose sister was married to Melville's elder brother;) and turning his attention to the state of learning in Scotland, of which, previously to this period, he does not seem to have taken any particular notice.

Though his life had not passed without some vicissitudes, the latter days of Scrimger appear to have been sufficiently easy as to circumstances. Besides the house which he possessed in the city, he had also a neat villa, which he called the Violet, about a league from the town. At this latter place he spent the most of his time, in his latter years, in the company of his wife and an only daughter. The period of his death seems to be somewhat uncertain. Thuanus says he died at Geneva in the year 1571; but an edition of his novels in the Advocates' library, with an inscription to his friend, Edward Herrison, dated 1572, is sufficient evidence that this is a mistake. George Buchanan, however, in a letter to Christopher Plaintain, dated at Stirling in the month of November, 1573, speaks of him as certainly dead; so that his death must have happened either in the end of 1572, or the beginning of 1573.

The only work which Scrimger appears to have published, besides the account of Spira, which we have already noticed, was an edition of the *Novellæ Constitutiones* of Justinian, in Greek; a work which was highly prized by the first lawyers of the time. He also enriched the editions of several of the classics, published by Henry Stephens, with various readings and remarks. From his preface to the Greek text of the *Novellæ*, it is evident that Scrimger intended to publish a Latin translation of that work, accompanied with annotations; but, from some unknown cause, that design was never accomplished. Mackenzie informs us, that, though he came with the highest recommendations from Ulrich Fugger to Stephens, who was, like Scrimger, one of Fugger's pensioners, yet, from an apprehension on the part of Stephens, that Scrimger intended to commence printer himself, there arose such a difference between them, that the republic of letters was deprived of Scrimger's notes upon Athenæus, Strabo, Diogenes Laertius, the Basilics, Phornuthus, and Palæphatus; all of which he designed that Stephens should have printed for him. The most of these, according to Stephens, after Scrimger's death, fell into the hands of Isaac Casaubon, who published many of them as his own. Casaubon, it would appear, obtained the use of his notes on Strabo, and applied for those on Polybius, when he published his editions of these writers. In his letters to Peter Young, who was Scrimger's nephew, and through whom he appears to have obtained the

use of these papers, he speaks in high terms of their great merit; but he has not been candid enough in his printed works, to own the extent of his obligations. Buchanan, in a letter to Christopher Plaintain, informs him, that Scrimger had left notes and observations upon Demosthenes, Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, and many other Greek authors; as likewise upon the philosophical works of Cicero: all which, he informs his correspondent, were in the hands of Scrimger's nephew, the learned Mr Peter Young; and being well worth the printing, should be sent him, if he would undertake the publication. Plaintain seems to have declined the offer; so that the *Novellæ* and the *Account of Spira*, are all that remain of the learned labours of Scrimger, of whom it has been said, that no man of his age had a more acute knowledge, not only of the Latin and Greek, but also of the Oriental languages. His library, which was one of the most valuable in Europe, he left by testament to his nephew, Peter Young, who was Buchanan's assistant in the education of James VI., and it was brought over to Scotland by the testator's brother, Alexander Scrimger, in the year 1573. Besides many valuable books, this library contained MSS. of great value; but Young was not a very enthusiastic scholar; and as he was more intent upon advancing his personal interests in the world, and aggrandizing his family, than forwarding the progress of knowledge, they probably came to but small account.

The testimonies to Scrimger's worth and merits, by his contemporaries, are numerous. Thuanus, Casaubon, and Stephens, with many others, mention his name with the highest encomiums. Dempster says he was a man indefatigable in his reading, of a most exquisite judgment, and without the smallest particle of vain-glory. And the great Cujanus was accustomed to say, that he never parted from the company of Henry Scrimger, without having learned something that he never knew before.

SHARP, JAMES, archbishop of St Andrews, was the son of William Sharp, sheriff-clerk of the shire of Banff, by his wife, Isobel Lesly, daughter of Lesly of Kininvey, and was born in the castle of Banff, in the month of May, 1613. His parents seem to have been industrious and respectable in the class of society to which they belonged; his father following his calling with diligence, and his mother, though a gentlewoman by birth, assisting his means by setting up a respectable brewery at Dun, which she appears to have conducted creditably and profitably to the day of her death. The subject of this memoir, probably with a view to the church, where, through the patronage of the earl of Findlater, which the family had long enjoyed, a good benefice might be supposed attainable, was sent to the university of Aberdeen. But the disputes between Charles I. and his parliament having commenced, and the prelatic form of the church being totally overthrown in Scotland, he took a journey into England; in the course of which he visited both the universities, where he was introduced to several persons of distinction. He had, however, no offers of preferment; but, finding the church of England ready to follow that of Scotland, he addressed himself to the celebrated Mr Alexander Henderson, then in England as a commissioner from the Scottish church, and enjoying a very high degree of popularity, from whom he obtained a recommendation for a regent's place in the university of St Andrews, to which he was accordingly admitted. Mr James Guthrie was at this time also a regent in the college of St Andrews, but whether suspecting the sincerity, or undervaluing the talents of Mr Sharp, he gave his whole favour to Mr John Sinclair, an unsuccessful candidate for the regent's place which Sharp had obtained, and to whom, when called to the ministry, he afterwards demitted his professional chair. It was with this circumstance, not improbably, that the opposition began which

continued between Mr Guthrie and Sharp throughout the whole of their after lives. With Mr Sinclair, now his co-regent, Mr Sharp seems also for some time to have lived on very bad terms, and even to have gone the length of striking him at the college table on the evening of a Lord's day in the presence of the principal and the other regents. For this outrage, however, he appears to have made a most ample acknowledgment, and to have been sincerely repentant. Mr Sharp's contrition attracted the notice and procured him the good graces of several of the most highly gifted and respected ministers of the Scottish church, particularly Mr Robert Blair. Mr Samuel Rutherford, an eminent Christian, and a person of the highest attainments in practical religion, was so much struck with what had been related by some of the brethren respecting Mr Sharp's exercises of soul, that, on his coming in to see him on his return from a distant mission, he embraced him most affectionately, saying, "he saw that out of the most rough and knotty timber Christ could make a vessel of mercy." With the brethren in general Mr Sharp also stood on high ground, and at the request of Mr James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns, he was, by the earl of Crawford, presented to the church and parish of Crail. On his appointment to this charge Mr Sharp began to take a decided part in the management of the external affairs of the church, in which he displayed singular ability. His rapidly increasing popularity in a short time procured him a call to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh, but his transportation was refused, both by the presbytery of St Andrews and the synod of Fife. It was at length ordered, however, by an act of the General Assembly; but the invasion of the English under Cromwell prevented its being any further insisted in. In the disputes that agitated the Scottish church after the unfortunate battle of Dunbar, the subject of this memoir, who was a stanch resolutioner, was the main instrument, according to Mr Robert Baillie, of carrying the question against the Protesters. His conduct on this occasion highly enhanced his talents and his piety, and was not improbably the foundation upon which his whole after fortune was built. In the troubles which so speedily followed this event, Sharp, along with several other ministers and some of the nobility, was surprised at Elliot in Fife by a party of the English, and sent up a prisoner to London. In 1657, he was deputed by the Resolutioners to proceed to London to plead their cause with Cromwell in opposition to the Protesters who had sent up Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and others, to represent the distressed state of the Scottish church, and to request, that an Assembly might be indicted for determining the controversies in question, and composing the national disorders. From the state of parties both in Scotland and England, and from the conduct which Cromwell had now adopted, he could not comply with this request, but he seems to have set a high value upon the commissioners; to have appreciated their good sense and fervent piety, and to have done everything but grant their petition to evince his good-will towards them. They, on the other hand, seem not to have been insensible either to his personal merits, though inimical to his government, or to that of some of the eminent men that were about him. This was terrifying to the Resolutioners, who saw in it nothing less than a coincidence of views and a union of purposes on the part of the whole protesting body with the abhorred and dreaded sectaries. "Their [the leading protesters'] piety and zeal," says Baillie, "is very susceptible of schism and error. I am oft afraid of their apostasy;" and, after mentioning with a kind of instinctive horror their praying both in public and private with Owen and Caryl, he adds with exultation, "the great instrument of God to cross their evil designs has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr James Sharp." It was part of the energetic policy of Cromwell, while he was not dependent on the party

whom he favoured, not to offend the other, and the mission had little effect, except that of preparing the way for Sharp to assume one which he made more advantageous to himself.

After the death of Oliver Cromwell, and while Monk was making his memorable march to England, the presbyterians sent to him David Dickson and Robert Douglas, accompanied by a letter, in which, expressing their confidence in whatever measures he should propose regarding Scotland, they suggested the propriety of his having some one near his person to remind him of such matters as were necessary for their interest, and requested a pass for Sharp, as a person qualified for the duty. Monk, who had in the mean time requested Sharp to come to him, wrote an answer, addressed to Messrs Dickson and Douglas from Ferry-bridge, to the following effect:—"I do assure you, the well-fare of your church shall be a great part of my care, and that you shall not be more ready to propound than I shall be to promote any reasonable thing that may be for the advantage thereof, and to that end I have herewith sent you according to your desire a pass for Mr Sharp, who the sooner he comes to me the more welcome he shall be, because he will give me an opportunity to show him how much I am a well-wisher to your church and to yourselves," &c. This was dated January 10th, 1660, and by the 6th of February, Sharp was despatched with the following instructions: "1st. You are to use your utmost endeavours that the kirk of Scotland may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privilege of her established judicatories ratified by the laws of the land. 2nd. Whereas by the lax toleration that is established, a door is opened to a very many gross errors and loose practices in this church, you shall therefore use all lawful and prudent means to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness thereof, that it may be timeously remedied. 3rd. You are to represent the prejudice this church doth suffer by the interverting of the vaking stipends, which by law were dedicated to pious uses, and seriously endeavour that hereafter vaking stipends may be intermitted with by presbyteries and such as shall be warranted by them, and no others, to be disposed of and applied to pious uses by presbyteries according to the twentieth act of the parliament 1644. 4th. You are to endeavour that ministers lawfully called and admitted by presbyteries to the ministry may have the benefit of the thirty-ninth act of the parliament, intituled act anent abolishing patronages for obtaining summarily upon the act of their admission, decret, and letters conform, and other executorials to the effect they may get the right and possession of their stipends and other benefits without any other address or trouble. If you find that there will be any commission appointed in this nation for settling and augmenting stipends, then you are to use your utmost endeavours to have faithful men, well affected to the interests of Christ in this church employed therein." As the judicatures of the church were not at this time allowed to sit, these instructions were signed by David Dickson, Robert Douglas, James Wood, John Smith, George Hutchison, and Andrew Ker, all leading men and all Resolutioners. He was at the same time furnished with a letter of recommendation to Monk, another to colonel Witham, and a third to Messrs Ash and Calamy, to be shown to Messrs Manton and Cowper, and all others with whom they might think it proper to communicate, requesting them to afford him every assistance that might be in their power for procuring relief to the 'enthralled and afflicted' church of Scotland. Sharp arrived at London on the 13th of the month, and next day wrote his constituents a very favourable account of his reception by Monk, who had already introduced him to two parliament men, Mr Weaver, and the afterwards celebrated Anthony Ashley Cowper, earl of Shaftesbury. Monk himself also wrote the reverend gentlemen two days after, the

16th, in the most saintly style imaginable. Mr Sharp, he says, is dear to him as his good friend, but much more having their recommendation, and he cannot but receive him as a minister of Christ and a messenger of his church; and he assures them that he will improve his interest to the utmost for the preservation of the rights of the church of Scotland, and their afflicted country, which he professed to love as his own gospel ordinances, and the privileges of God's people he assured them it should be his care to establish; and he implores their prayers for God's blessing on their counsels and undertakings, entreating them to promote the peace and settlement of the nations, and do what in them lies to compose men's spirits, that with patience the fruit of hopes and prayers may be reaped, &c. This language answered the purpose for which it was uttered, and Robert Douglas in a few days acquainted Sharp with the receipt of his own and the general's letter, desiring him to encourage the general in his great work for the good of religion and peace of the three nations. "For yourself," he adds, "you know what have been my thoughts of this undertaking from the beginning, which I have signified to the general himself, though I was sparing to venture my opinion in ticklish matters, yet I looked upon him as called of God in a strait to put a check to those who would have run down all our interests." Not satisfied with expressing his feelings to Sharp, Mr Douglas wrote Monk, thanking him for his kind reception of Sharp, and encouraging him to go on with the great work he had in hand, adding, in the simplicity of his heart, "I have been very much satisfied from time to time to hear what good opinion your lordship entertained of presbyterial government, and I am confident you shall never have just cause to think otherwise of it,"—an expression suggested by the information of Sharp, who had represented Monk as favourable to a liberal presbyterian government.

Sharp had, previously to all this, settled with Glencairn, and others of the Scottish nobility, who hated the severity of the presbyterian discipline, to overthrow that form of government, and to introduce episcopacy in its place; in other words, he was disposed to assist whatever religious party offered the greatest bribe to his ambition. It was natural that he should conceal his intentions from his employers. Accordingly, in a series of letters to Mr Douglas, and the others from whom he derived his commission, written in the months of February, March, and April, he occasionally regrets, in suitable terms, the peril of the suffering church: at other times holds forth glimpses of hope; and at all times explains the utility and absolute necessity of his own interference in its behalf. During the course of this correspondence, he declines becoming minister of Edinburgh, (a situation to which there seem to have again been intentions of calling him,) having perhaps previously secured a charge of more dignity. On the twenty-seventh of the month, he again writes to Mr Douglas, wishing to be recalled; and informing him, that his sermon on the coronation of Charles II. at Scone, with the account of that ceremony, had been reprinted at London; and that it gave great offence to the episcopal party, which, he says, does not much matter; but the declaration at Dunfermline, bearing the king's acknowledgment of the blood shed by his father's house, is what he knows not how to excuse. He and Lauderdale, however, are represented as endeavouring to vindicate Scotland, for treating with the king upon the terms of the covenant, from the necessity which England now finds of treating with him upon terms before his return; and he says he is reported, both here and at Brussels, to be a rigid Scottish presbyterian, making it his work to have presbytery settled in England. He adds, with matchless effrontery, "they sent to desire me to move nothing in prejudice of the church of England; and they would do nothing in prejudice of our church. I bid tell them, it was not my employ-

ment to move to the prejudice of any party; and I thought, did they really mind the peace of those churches, they would not start such propositions: but all who pretend to be for civil settlement, would contribute their endeavours to restore it, and not meddle unseasonably with those remote causes. The fear of rigid presbytery is talked much of here by all parties; but, for my part, I apprehend no ground for it. I am afraid that something else is like to take place in the church, than rigid presbytery. This nation is not fitted to bear that yoke of Christ; and for religion, I suspect it is made a stalking horse still." In a letter, previous to this, Mr Douglas had informed him, that those in Scotland who loved religion and liberty, had their fears, that, if the king came not in upon the terms of the solemn league and covenant, his coming in would be disadvantageous to religion and the liberties of the three nations; and he exhorted Crawford, Lauderdale, and Sharp, to deal, with all earnestness, that the league and covenant be settled, as the only basis of the security and happiness of these nations. On the reception of the last we have quoted from Sharp, we find Douglas again addressing his treacherous messenger, and, in the purest simplicity, providing him with some of those arguments in defence of presbytery, which it is probable Sharp well knew. The deceiver answered, that he found it at that time utterly impossible to return, as the general would communicate on Scottish affairs with no one but himself; and the Scots had nothing to do but be quiet, and their affairs would be done to their hand; he and Lauderdale having agreed, with ten presbyterian ministers, on the necessity of bringing in the king upon covenant terms, and taking off the prejudices that lie upon some presbyterians against them. Two days afterwards, he says, "The Lord having opened a fair door of hope, we may look for a settlement upon the grounds of the covenant, and thereby a foundation laid for security against the prelatie and fanatic assaults: but I am dubious if this shall be the result of the agitations now on foot." "We intend," he adds, "to publish some letters from the French protestant ministers, vindicating the king from popery, and giving him a large character. The sectaries will not be able to do anything to prevent the king's coming in. Our honest presbyterian brethren are cordial for him. I have been dealing with some of them, to send some testimony of their affection for him; and, yesternight, five of them promised, within a week, to make a shift to send a thousand pieces of gold to him. I continue in my opinion, that Scotland should make no applications till the king come in. I have received letters from Mr Bruce at the Hague, and the king is satisfied that Scotland keep quiet." "No notice," he writes in another letter, "is taken of Scotland in the treaty: we shall be left to the king, which is best for us. God save us from divisions and self seeking. I have acquainted Mr Bruce how it is with you, and what you are doing; and advised him to guard against Middleton's designs, and those who sent that Murray over to the king. If our noblemen, or others, fall upon factious ways, and grasp after places, they will cast reproach upon their country, and fall short of their ends. I fear the interest of the solemn league and covenant shall be neglected; and, for religion, I smell that moderate episcopacy is the fairest accommodation which moderate men, who wish well to religion, expect. Let our noble friends know what you think of it." This first decided breathing of his intentions was answered by Douglas with moderation and good sense. He wishes Monk might grant permission for him to go over to the king, to give a true representation of the state of matters. "I fear," says he, "Mr Bruce hath not sufficient credit for us. If the solemn league and covenant be neglected, it seems to me that the judgment on these nations is not yet at an end. The greatest security for the king and these nations, were to come in upon that bottom." Before this could reach Sharp,

however, it had been concerted, as he writes to Mr Douglas, between him and Monk, that he should go over to the king, "to deal with him, that he may write a letter to Mr Calamy, to be communicated to the presbyterian ministers, showing his resolution to own the godly sober party, and to stand for the true protestant religion, in the power of it: and, withal, he [Monk] thinks it fit I were there, were it but to acquaint the king with the passages of his undertaking, known to Mr Douglas and to me, and to tell him of matters in Scotland. He spoke to me three several times this week; and now I am determined to go; I hope I shall do some service to the honest party here, and, indeed, to ours at home. If you think fit to write to the king, the sooner the better." On the 4th of May he writes, that he could not go off to Breda till that day. "The presbyterian ministers of the city," he adds, "after several meetings, have resolved to send over next week some ministers from the city, Oxford and Cambridge, to congratulate the king; and I am desired to acquaint the king with their purpose, and dispose for their reception: or, if it be practicable that he would write to both houses, by way of prevention, that they would secure religion, in regard to some points. Some particulars of secrecy the general [Monk] hath recommended to me, and given orders to transport me in a frigate. I have got a large letter to the king, and another to his prime minister. Providence hath ordered it well, that my going carries the face of some concernment in reference to England; but I shall have hereby the better access and opportunity, to speak what the Lord shall direct as to our matters, and give a true information of the carriage of business. I think I need not stay ten days. It will be best to address the king by a letter. Presbyterians here are few, and all are Englishmen; and these will not endure us to do anything that may carry a resemblance to pressing uniformity. For my part, I shall not be accessory to anything prejudicial to the presbyterian government; but to appear for it in any other way than is within my sphere, is inconvenient, and may do harm, and not good." Mr Douglas lost no time in preparing instructions for Sharp, and a letter to the king, which he forwarded on the 8th of the month, with the following letter:—"I perceive by all that you write, that no respect will be had to the covenant in this great transaction, which, if neglected altogether, it fears me that the Lord will be greatly provoked to wrath. It will be the presbyterians' fault, if they get not as much settled, at least, as was agreed upon by the synod of divines, and ratified by parliament: for I perceive that the king will be most condescending to the desires offered by the parliament: but I leave that. However our desires may be for uniformity in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, if they will not press it themselves, we are free. Your great errand will be for this kirk. I am confident the king will not wrong our liberties, whereunto himself is engaged. He needs not declare any liberty to any tender consciences here, because the generality of the people, and whole ministry, have embraced the established religion by law, with his majesty's consent. It is known that in all the times of the prevailing of the late party in England, none petitioned here for a toleration, except some inconsiderable, naughty men. Whatever indulgence the king intends to persons who have failed under the late revolutions, yet he would be careful to do it so, as they shall be in no capacity to trouble the peace of the land, as formerly they did. I doubt not but you will inform the king of the circumstances and condition of our kirk. It is left wholly upon you to do what you can, for the benefit of this poor distracted kirk, that the king's coming may be refreshful to the honest party here, since no directions from us can well reach you before you come back to London." This letter enclosed a set of instructions for Sharp, similar to those he had already received, equally formal, though extending to *some things less*

particularly stated in the former ; and was accompanied by a letter to the king, which, after the usual formalities of congratulation, continued in these terms :—" But now since it hath pleased God to open a door (which we have long desired) for our brother, Mr Sharp, to come and wait upon your majesty, we could not any longer forbear to present, by him, this our humble address, in testimony of our loyal affection to your majesty, and our humble acknowledgment of the Lord's goodness to these your dominions in this comfortable revolution of affairs, making way for your majesty's reinstalment. If it had been expedient in this juncture of affairs, your majesty might have expected an address from the generality of the ministers of this church, who, we assure your majesty, have continued, and will continue in their loyalty to authority, and the maintenance of your just rights, in their stations, according to those principles by which your majesty left them, walking in opposition both to enemies from without and disturbers from within ; but doubting that such an application is not yet seasonable, we have desired Mr Sharp to inform your majesty more fully of the true state of this church, whereby we trust your majesty will perceive our painfulness and fidelity in these trying times ; and that the principles of the church of Scotland are such, and so fixed for the preservation and maintenance of lawful authority, as your majesty needs never repent that you have entered into a covenant for maintaining thereof. So that we nothing doubt of your majesty's constant resolution to protect this church in her established privileges ; and are no less confident, (though we presume not to meddle without our sphere,) that your majesty will not only hearken to the humble advices of those who are concerned, but will also, of your own royal inclination, appear to settle the house of God, according to his word, in all your dominions. Now, the Lord himself bless your majesty ; let his right hand settle and establish you upon the throne of your dominions, and replenish your royal heart with all those graces and endowments necessary for repairing the breaches of these so long distracted kingdoms, that religion and righteousness may flourish in your reign, the present generation may bless God for the mercies received by you, and the generations to come may reap the fruits of your royal pains. So pray, &c., Robert Douglas, David Dickson, James Hamilton, John Smith, and George Hutcheson." This letter was dated May the 8th, the same day with Sharp's instructions, and a double of it was enclosed for himself ; but he kept this, and a similar one sent him by the earl of Rothes, on the 10th, till after the king's arrival in England, when everything was settled, and Sharp assured of being archbishop of St Andrews. This indeed was the sole object of his journey to Breda, where he was recommended to the king by a letter from Monk, as a fit person for establishing episcopal government in Scotland ; and by a letter from lord Glencairn, he was recommended in a similar manner to Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon.

It is almost unnecessary to mention that, in the whole transaction, it does not fall to our lot to record any occasion in which Sharp performed the instructions of his mission, or the duty for which he was paid by those whose simple zeal exceeded either their means or their discernment. On the 2nd of June, Sharp writes Mr Douglas, that he had presented their letter ; that the king, having read some part of it, and looked at the subscriptions, told him he was glad to see a letter under their hands ; and that he would consider it, and return an answer at an after period. In this letter, which is long and desultory, he seems frequently to think, without absolutely deciding, that it is time to terminate his connexion with his employers, by extinguishing their hopes. " I shall never," he tells them, " espouse the interest of any person or party ; 'tis our common interest to keep an equal way with all who mind the good of kirk and country.

Cementing and prising will be our mercy, and dividing more our reproach than we are aware of. The king hath allowed the noblemen who are here, to meet and consult what is proper to be offered for the good of the nation. They meet on Monday. It is in his heart to restore to us our liberties and privileges, if our folly do not mar it." "The influencing men of the presbyterian judgment," he adds, "are content with episcopacy of bishop Usher's model, and a liturgy somewhat corrected. A knowing minister told me this day, that if a synod should be called, by a plurality of incumbents, they would infallibly carry episcopacy. There are many nominal, few real presbyterians. The cassock men do swarm here; and such who seemed before to be for presbytery, would be content of a moderate episcopacy. We must leave this in the Lord's hand, who may be pleased to preserve to us, what he hath wrought for us. I see not what use I can be any longer here. I wish my neck were out of the collar. Some of our countrymen go to the common prayer. All matters are devolved into the hands of the king, in whose power it is to do absolutely what he pleases in church and state. His heart is in his hand, upon whom are our eyes." The very same day he writes a letter to Mr Douglas, upon whom there was a design at court, to draw over by the bribe of a bishopric, that it were well if he would come up to London, where his presence might be of great utility; at the same time he forbids any other; and assures them, that if they come, they will be discountenanced, and give suspicion of driving a disobliging design. "I find our presbyterian friends quite taken off their feet; and what they talk of us, and our help, is merely for their own ends. They stick not to say that, had it not been for the vehemency of the Scots, Messrs Henderson, Gillespie, &c., set forms had been continued; and they were never against them. The king and grandees are wholly for episcopacy. The episcopal men are very high. I beseech you, Sir, decline not to come up. It will be necessary for you to come and speak with his majesty, for preventing of ill, and keeping our noblemen here right."

The consequence of his communication, which must have been alarming, was a more distinct direction as to his duties, which did not reach him at a time when he was much disposed to attend to such suggestions. In his answer he reproves his employers for their violence, and, still unwilling entirely to reveal himself, continues, "I apprehend it will come to nothing. However, the high carriage of the episcopal men gives great dissatisfaction, the Lord may permit them thus to lift up themselves that thereby they may meet with a more effectual check. I hear Leighton is here in town in private." The answer of Douglas was in more distinct terms of suspicion, mentioning those circumstances of danger gathering round the church, the existence of which he to whom he wrote knew too well. Sharp still equivocated, and looked to episcopacy as a thing to be dreaded, but which he feared could not be avoided. In his return in August, he brought the king's celebrated letter to Douglas and the presbytery of Edinburgh, which in conformity with the policy pursued by Sharp and his friends, bore, "We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee, 1651, be owned and stand in force until we shall call another General Assembly (which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs will permit), and we do intend to send for Mr Robert Douglas, and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what may further concern the affairs of that church. And as we are very well satisfied with your resolution not to meddle

without your sphere, so we do expect that church judicatories in Scotland and ministers there will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastic, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects against all opposers, and that they will take special notice of such who by preachings or private conventicles, or any other way transgress the limits of their calling by endeavouring to corrupt the people or sow seeds of disaffection to us or our government." The simple enthusiasm with which this document was received, by those who were accustomed to give plain meanings to ordinary words, is well known. In the synod of Fife, which met at Kirkcaldy, Mr John Macgill, Mr Alexander Wedderburn, and some others, contended for introducing the covenant into their letter of thanks, "as the bond which, while it bound both king and subjects to God, did also tie them to one another." This drew from Sharp a long speech, in which he had many oblique reflections upon the covenant, which he with some truth alleged could not be mentioned to his majesty without exciting his displeasure. He further in justification of his majesty affirmed that "there was not a man in England would own that covenant save Mr Ash, an old man, whose one foot was already in the grave," and so great was his influence that he carried a plurality of the synod along with him, and the covenant of duty was set aside for the conventional one of good manners. A vote of thanks to Mr Sharp was also carried in this synod for his faithfulness and painstaking in the affairs of the church. At the dismissal of the synod, Mr William Row coming in contact with Sharp at the door, laid hold of his cloak, and inquired how he could affirm in the face of the synod that no man in England owned the covenant but Mr Ash, when Mr Crofton had just come forth in print in behalf of its perpetual obligation, to which Sharp made no other reply than that he knew Mr Crofton a little *knuckity body*, just like Mr Henry Williams. Though eminently successful in his endeavours, Sharp still kept the mantle of hypocrisy closely drawn around him, and was elected professor of theology in the college of St Andrews, where he had formerly been professor of philosophy. He was keenly opposed by the principal, Mr Samuel Rutherford, who had made an early discovery of his true character, and could never be brought to countenance him. Mr Rutherford, however, was a Protester, his *Lex Rex* had been condemned to the flames by the committee of estates, and he was confined to his own house by sickness, and Sharp had the satisfaction of assisting at the burning of his book at the gate of his college. He died soon after or he might have shared the fate of his book.

The committee of estates which sat down in August, 1660, and the parliament which followed, commenced the wild work of tyranny, which so darkly characterizes the period. When prelacy was established by royal proclamation in the month of August, 1661, Mr Sharp, who had been the principal agent in this melancholy overturning, was now rewarded with the primacy of Scotland, and was called up to London, along with Fairfoul, appointed to the see of Glasgow, Hamilton to that of Galloway, and Leighton to that of Dunblane, to receive episcopal ordination. Sharp made some objections against being re-ordained, but yielded when he found it was to be insisted on, a circumstance which made Sheldon, bishop of London, say, he followed the Scots' fashion, which was to scruple at everything, and to swallow anything. The other three yielded at once, and they were all four on the 16th day of December, 1661, before a great concourse of Scottish and English nobility in the chapel of Westminster, ordained preaching deacons, then presbyters, and lastly consecrated bishops. In the month of April they returned in great state to Scotland, where in the following month they proceeded to consecrate their ten brethren, the parliament having delayed to sit till they should be ready to take their seats. We

might have remarked, that on the parliament passing the act recissory, Sharp affected concern sufficient to qualify him for a new mission, which afforded him an opportunity of perfecting what he had already so far advanced, and ended in his now exalted situation of primate of all Scotland. Well might Burnet say of the Scottish ministers, "poor men, they were so struck with the ill state of their affairs that they had neither sense nor courage left them." Sharp, when made archbishop of St Andrews, affirmed that he had only accepted of it, seeing the king would establish episcopacy, to keep it out of more violent hands, and that he might be able so to moderate matters that good men might be saved from a storm that otherwise could not have failed to break upon them. No sooner had he the reins of ecclesiastic government in his hands than a proclamation was issued, forbidding any clergymen to meet in a presbyterial capacity till such time as the bishops had settled the order of procedure in them, and he was so very moderate in his measures, that of his co-presbyters of St Andrews, he spared only three old men who were nonconformists, and these were spared not without great difficulty. Nor did his elevation, which he had attained with so much infamy, content him; besides the dignity of the church, he loved that of the state, and in the differences that fell out between Lauderdale and Middleton he narrowly escaped a fall with the latter. He had been prevailed on to write to the king that the standing or falling of Middleton would be the standing or falling of the church, and he went up to London to support him personally. When he came to London, however, and saw how much Middleton had fallen in the estimation of the king, he resolved to make great concessions to Lauderdale, and when the latter reproached him with his engagements with Middleton, he boldly averred that he had never gone farther with him than what was decent, considering his post. That he had ever written to the king in his behalf, he totally denied. But Charles had given Lauderdale the prelate's letter. When it was shown to the writer he fell a-weeping, and begged pardon in the most abject manner, saying "what could a company of poor men refuse to the earl of Middleton, who had done so much for them, and had them so entirely in his power." Lauderdale, upon this, said he would forgive them all that was past; and would serve them and the church at another rate than Middleton was capable of doing; and Sharp became wholly Lauderdale's. In 1663, he went up to court to complain of the chancellor Glencairn and the privy council, when he said there was so much remissness and popularity on all occasions that, unless some more spirit was put into it, the church could not be preserved. On this occasion he obtained an order for establishing a kind of high commission court, a useful instrument of oppression, and procured a letter to the council directing that in future the primate should take the place of the chancellor, which so mortified Glencairn that he is said to have in consequence caught the fever of which he died. Sharp, who now longed for the chancellorship, wrote immediately to Sheldon, bishop of London, that upon the disposal of this place the very being of the church depended, and begging that he would press the king to allow him to come up before he gave away the place. The king, who by this time had conceived a great dislike for Sharp, bade Sheldon assure him that he would take care the place should be properly filled, but that there was no occasion for his coming up. Sharp, however, could not restrain himself, but ventured up. The king received him coldly, and asked if he had not had the bishop's letter. He admitted that he had, but he chose rather to venture on his majesty's displeasure than see the church ruined through his caution or negligence. "In Scotland they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies. His majesty's protection and the execution of the law were all they had to depend on, and

these depended so much upon the chancellor, that he could not answer to God and the church, if he did not bestir himself in that matter. He knew many thought of him for that post, but he was so far from that thought, that if his majesty had any such intention he would rather choose to be sent to a plantation. He desired that he should be a churchman in heart but not in habit, that should be called to that trust." From the king he went straight to Sheldon, and begged him to move the king to bestow it upon himself, furnishing him with many arguments in support of the proposal, one of which was that the late king had raised his predecessor, Spottiswood, to that dignity. Sheldon moved the king accordingly with more than ordinary fervour; and the king, suspecting Sharp had set him on, charged him to tell the truth, which he did, though not without a great deal of hesitation. The king told him, in return, the whole affair. Sheldon prayed him to remember the archbishop and the church, whatever he might think of the man which the king graciously assured him he would do. Sheldon told Sharp he saw the motion for himself would be ineffectual, and he must think of some one else. Sharp then nominated Rothes, who was appointed accordingly; and with a commission to prepare matters for a national synod, to settle a book of common prayer and a book of canons, Sharp returned to Scotland, having assured the king that now, if all went not well, either Rothes or Lauderdale must bear the blame.

In another visit to court, along with Rothes, he endeavoured to undermine the influence of Lauderdale; but that bold and unhesitating man did not flinch from his averments, whether true or false, and compelled him publicly to retract them. Nor was he more successful in an overture to join with Middleton, in supplanting his rival. His terrors on the rising at Pentland, rendering him anxious for an increase of troops, he recommended the fines to be applied that way, by which many of the cavaliers, who looked to that fund, were disappointed in their expectations, and became his mortal enemies. Lauderdale, too, to complete his disgrace, procured a number of letters, written to the presbyterians after he had negotiated for the introduction of episcopacy, and gave them to the king, who looked on him ever after as the worst of men. During the rising at Pentland, Sharp was the principal administrator of the government; in which situation, the cruelty of nature, and insatiability in vengeance, which he displayed, are well known. After this period, he was so much disliked at court, (while he was a necessary instrument,) that, in 1667, he was ordered to confine himself to his own diocese, and come no more to Edinburgh. With the indulgences, the comprehension, &c., Sharp had little connexion, except in narrowing their effect. In the month of July, 1668, as he was going into his coach in daylight, he was fired at with a pistol loaded with a brace of bullets: but his life was saved by Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, who, lifting up his hand to step into the coach after him at the time, received the shot in his wrist, which caused his death a few years afterwards, the wound never having healed. So universally was Sharp hated, that when the cry was made that a man had been shot in the street, the reply was instantly made, that it was only a bishop, and not a single individual offered to lay hold on the perpetrator of the deed. The court, however, took some compassion on him in this extremity, and he was repaid for his fears by a little gleam of favour. The person who committed the daring act, Mr James Mitchel, was afterwards seized, and, upon a promise of life, confessed, what it was impossible for his enemies to prove, he having no associates in the affair. That promise, however, was violated,¹ and Mitchel suffered.

We now approach the violent end of this man, whose life was spent in vio-

¹ On this subject, vide the Mem. of Sir George Lockhart, Mitchel's counsel.

lence. It was characteristic of the excess of the iniquity of the period ; for, in the whole course of national discord which preceded, an action of political assassination, without the colour of any human law, does not stand on record. A few of the more zealous and uncompromising presbyterians, wandering on Magus Moor, near St Andrews, on the 3rd of May, 1679, in search of the sheriff of Fife, whose activity as a servant to the archbishop, had roused them to violent intentions, fell in with the master, instead of the servant ; and their passions dictating to them that they had what was termed a call from God to put him to death, they followed the suggestion with circumstances of considerable barbarity. Having cut the traces of his carriage, they, in the most cool and deliberate manner, commanded him to come out of his coach, or they would do harm to his daughter, who was along with him ; and that his days were now numbered, as they were to take vengeance upon him for a betrayed church, and for so many of their murdered brethren, particularly for the life of Mr James Mitchel, to whom he had sworn so perfidiously, and for keeping up the king's pardon after Pentland. After repeatedly assuring him of their purpose, and exhorting him to repentance and prayer, in which he could not be persuaded to engage, they fired upon him, and afterwards slashed his head with their swords, leaving him a lifeless corpse on the king's highway. A particular account of this affair, exaggerated probably in its details, was speedily published, and large rewards offered for the perpetrators ; not one of whom was ever brought to trial, Hackston, of Raithelst, excepted, who was one of the party, but who had refused to have any hand in the work of death, from the circumstance of his having had some personal quarrel with the bishop. Sharp was buried with great pomp, and a splendid monument erected over him, at St Andrews, which, though it attracts little respect, is still to be seen as one of the curiosities of that city.

SHORT, JAMES, an eminent optician and constructor of reflecting telescopes, was the son of William Short, a joiner in Edinburgh, where he was born on the 10th of June, 1710. The Christian name, James, was conferred upon him, in consequence of his having thus been ushered into the world on the birth-day of the Pretender. Having lost his parents in early life, he was entered, at the age of ten, on the foundation of George Heriot, where he rendered himself a favourite among his companions, by his talent for fabricating little articles in joinery. At twelve years old, he began to attend the High School for classical literature, in which he distinguished himself so greatly, that a pious grandmother determined to devote him to the church. He actually commenced a course of attendance at the university for this purpose, in 1726, took his degree of master of arts, attended the divinity hall, and in 1731 passed the usual trials preparatory to his being licensed as a preacher of the gospel ; when his natural taste for mechanics, receiving excitement from an attendance at Mr Maclaurin's mathematical class, induced him to turn back from the very threshold of the church, and apply himself to a different profession. He very quickly attracted the favourable attention of the illustrious expositor of Newton, who invited him frequently to his house, in order to observe his capacity more narrowly, and encouraged him to proceed in the new line of life which he had embraced. In 1732, Maclaurin permitted Short to use his rooms in the college for his apparatus, and kindly superintended all his proceedings. Two years after, in a letter to Dr Turin, he takes notice of the proficiency of Mr Short, in the casting and polishing of the metallic specula of reflecting telescopes. The young mathematician had already improved greatly upon the construction of the Gregorian telescope. The figure which he gave to his great specula was parabolic ; not, however, by any rule or canon, but by practice and mechanical devices,

joined to an exact knowledge of the principles of optics. The improvement had been pointed out by Newton, as the most necessary attainment for the perfection of those instruments. In 1736, he had obtained so much distinction by his acquirements, as to be called by queen Caroline to give instructions in mathematics to her second son, the duke of Cumberland. On leaving Edinburgh for this purpose, he deposited £500, which he had already saved from his gains, in the bank of Scotland. In London, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and was much patronized by the earls of Morton and Macclesfield. Towards the end of the year, he returned to Edinburgh, and resumed the usual course of his profession. Three years afterwards, he accompanied the earl of Morton on a progress to his lordship's possessions in Orkney, for the purpose of adjusting the geography of that remote archipelago; while the laird of Macfarlane accompanied the party, as a surveyer of antiquities. After that business had been concluded, Mr Short accompanied the earl to London, where he finally settled, and for some years carried on an extensive practice in the construction of telescopes and other optical instruments. One of the former, containing a reflector of twelve feet focus, was made for lord Thomas Spencer, at six hundred guineas; another of still greater extent, and the largest which had till then been constructed, was made for the king of Spain, at £1200. Mr Short died, June 15, 1768, of mortification in the bowels, leaving a fortune of £20,000.

SIBBALD, JAMES, an ingenious inquirer into Scottish literary antiquities, was the son of Mr John Sibbald, farmer at Whitlaw, in Roxburghshire, where he was born in the year 1747, or early in 1748. He was educated at the grammar school of Selkirk, from which Whitlaw is only a few miles distant. He commenced life, by leasing the farm of Newton from Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs. Here he pursued various studies, each of which, for the time, seemed to him the most important in the world; till another succeeded, and in its turn absorbed his whole attention. One of his favourite pursuits was botany, then little studied by any class of people in Scotland, and particularly by farmers. Owing to the depression which the American war produced in the value of farm stock, Mr Sibbald found his affairs by no means in a prosperous condition; and, accordingly, in May, 1779, he disposed of the whole by auction, and, giving up his lease to the landlord, repaired to Edinburgh, with about a hundred pounds in his pocket, in order to commence a new line of life. A taste for literature, and an acquaintance with Mr Charles Elliot, who was a native of the same district, induced him to enter as a kind of volunteer shopman into the employment of that eminent publisher, with whom he continued about a year. He then purchased the circulating library which had formerly belonged to Allan Ramsay, and, in 1780 or 1781, commenced business as a bookseller in the Parliament Square. It is not unworthy of notice, that Mr Sibbald conducted the library at the time when Sir Walter Scott, then a boy, devoured its contents with the ardour described in one of his autobiographical prefaces. Mr Sibbald carried on business with a degree of spirit and enterprise, beyond the most of his brethren. He was the first to introduce the better order of engravings into Edinburgh, in which department of trade he was for a considerable time eminently successful. Many of these prints were of the mezzotinto kind, and were coloured to resemble paintings. Being viewed in the Scottish capital as altogether the production of metropolitan genius, they were exceedingly well received, and extensively purchased. At length, Mr Sibbald was detected one day in the act of colouring some of them himself; and from that time his trade experienced an evident decline. He had not been long in business, when his talents and acquired knowledge sought an appropriate field of display, in a

monthly literary miscellany, which he established, (1783,) under the name of the "Edinburgh Magazine." This was the first time that a rival to the ancient Scots Magazine met with decided success. The Edinburgh Magazine was of a somewhat more ambitious and attractive character than its predecessor; contained more original matter, and that of a livelier kind; and was ornamented by engraved frontispieces, representing mansions, castles, and other remarkable objects. Mr Sibbald was himself the editor and chief contributor; and it is said that his articles, though not marked by any signature, were generally distinguished as superior to the ordinary papers then admitted into magazines. His lucubrations on Scottish antiquities were of so much merit, as to secure to their author the friendship of lord Hailes, and other eminent literary characters, who became occasional contributors to his miscellany. Early in 1791, with the view of devoting himself more to literary pursuits, Mr Sibbald made an arrangement for giving up the management of his business to two young men, Messrs Laurie and Symington, the property of the stock and of the magazine continuing in his own hands, while those individuals paid him an allowance for both out of the profits. From this period, till late in 1792, the magazine professes, on the title-page, to be printed for him, but sold by Laurie and Symington. At the date last mentioned, his name disappears entirely from the work, which, however, was still carried on for his benefit, the sale being generally about six or seven hundred copies.

In 1792, Mr Sibbald conducted a newspaper, which was then started, under the name of the "Edinburgh Herald," and which did not continue long in existence. It is worth mentioning that, in this paper, he commenced the practice of giving an original leading article, similar to what was presented in the London prints, though it has only been in recent times that such a plan became general in Scotland. According to the notes of an agreement formed in July, 1793, between Mr Sibbald and Mr Laurie, the temporary direction and profits of the Edinburgh circulating library, were conveyed to the latter for ten years, from the ensuing January, in consideration of a rent of, it is believed, £200 per annum, to be paid quarterly to Mr Sibbald, but subject to a deduction for the purchase of new books, to be added to the library. Mr Sibbald now went to London, where he resided for some years, in the enjoyment of literary society, and the prosecution of various literary speculations, being supported by the small independency which he had thus secured for himself. Here he composed a work, entitled, "Record of the Public Ministry of Jesus Christ; comprehending all that is related by the Four Evangelists, in one regular narrative, without repetition or omission, arranged with strict attention to the Chronology, and to their own Words, according to the most esteemed translation; with Preliminary Observations." This work was published at Edinburgh in 1798, and was chiefly remarkable for the view which it took respecting the space of time occupied by the public ministrations of Christ, which former writers had supposed to be three or four years, but was represented by Mr Sibbald as comprehended within twelve months. While in London, his Scottish relations altogether lost sight of him; they neither knew where he lived, nor how he lived. At length his brother William, a merchant in Leith, made a particular inquiry into these circumstances, by a letter, which he sent through such a channel as to be sure of reaching him. The answer was comprised in the following words:—"My lodging is in Soho, and my business is so so." Having subsequently returned to Edinburgh, he there edited, in 1797, a work, entitled, "The Vocal Magazine, a Selection of the most esteemed English, Scots, and Irish Airs, ancient and modern, adapted for the Harpsichord or Violin." For such an employment he was qualified by a general acquaintance

with music. In 1799, Mr Sibbald revised his agreement with Mr Laurie, who undertook to lease the business for twenty-one years, after January, 1800, at the rent of one hundred guineas, himself supplying the new books, which were to remain his own property. Finding, however, that, even at this low rental, he did not prosper in his undertaking, Laurie soon after gave up the business into the hands of Mr Sibbald, by whom it was carried on till his death.¹

The latter years of this ingenious man were chiefly spent in the compilation of his well-known "Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, and Glossary of the Scottish Language," four volumes, 12mo; a work of taste and erudition, which will perpetuate his name among those who have illustrated our national literature. The three first volumes exhibit a regular chronological series of extracts from the writings of the Scottish poets to the reign of James VI.; illustrated by biographical, critical, and archæological notices: the fourth contains a vocabulary of the language, only inferior in amplitude and general value to the more voluminous work of Dr Jamieson. The "Chronicle" appeared in 1802.

This ingenious writer died, in April, 1803, at his lodgings in Leith Walk. Two portraits of him have been given by Kay; one representing him as he daily walked up the centre of the High Street of Edinburgh, with his hand behind his back, and an umbrella under his arm; another places him amidst a group of connoisseurs, who are inspecting a picture. He was a man of eccentric, but benevolent and amiable character. The same exclusiveness which actuated his studies, governed him in domestic life: even in food, he used to give his whole favour for a time to one object, and then change it for some other, to which he was in turn as fondly devoted. He belonged to a great number of convivial clubs, and was so much beloved by many of his associates in those fraternities, that, for some years after his death, they celebrated his birth-day by a social meeting.

SIBBALD, (SIR) ROBERT, an eminent physician, naturalist, and antiquary, was descended of the ancient family of the Sibbalds of Balgonie in Fife. He received the principal part of his education, particularly in philosophy and languages, at the university of Edinburgh. Having completed himself in these branches of learning, he went to Leyden to study medicine, and in 1661, he obtained there a doctor's degree. On this occasion he published an inaugural dissertation entitled, "*De Variis Speciebus.*" Sir Robert immediately afterwards returned to his native country, and took up his residence in Edinburgh, from which, however, he occasionally retired to a rural retreat in the neighbourhood of the city, where he cultivated rare and exotic plants, and pursued, undisturbed, his favourite study of botany. The reputation which he soon afterwards acquired procured him the honour of knighthood from Charles II., who also appointed him his physician, natural historian, and geographer-royal for Scotland. In this capacity he received his majesty's commands to write a general description of the whole kingdom, including a particular history of the different counties of Scotland. Of this undertaking, however, the only part

¹ The history of the Edinburgh circulating library may here be briefly narrated. Established by Allan Ramsay in 1725, it was conducted by that eminent person till near the period of his death, in 1757, when it was sold to a Mr Yair, whose widow carried it on till 1780, when it was sold to Mr Sibbald. A daughter of Mrs Yair was married to the late Dr Bell, author of the "*Madras System of Education.*" By Mr Sibbald, who greatly increased the collection, it was conducted, under various circumstances, as above stated, till 1803, when his brother and executor, William Sibbald, merchant in Leith, endeavoured to carry it on, under the superintendence of a Mr Stevenson. Finding it by no means prosperous, and the latter gentleman having died, Mr Sibbald disposed of it, in 1806, to Mr Alexander Mackay, who conducted it until a recent period, when it was broken up, and sold off by auction. It does not appear to have thriven in any remarkable degree, till the accession of Mr Mackay, who retired from it with a competency.

which he ever executed was the History of Fife, published in 1710, a work of very considerable interest, and replete with curious antiquarian information. A new edition of this book, which had become exceedingly scarce, was published at Cupar in Fife in 1803.

In 1681, Sir Robert became a member of the Royal College of Physicians, then first incorporated, and in three years afterwards, he published a learned and elaborate work, on which twenty years had been employed, entitled "*Scotia Illustrata, sive Prodrromus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ*," folio. A second edition of this valuable work, also in folio, was published in 1696. One part of the *Scotia Illustrata*, is devoted to the indigenous plants of Scotland, and amongst these there appear some rare species, one of which was subsequently called *Sibbaldia*, by Linnæus, in honour of its discoverer. For some of the opinions expressed in this work on the mathematical principles of phisic, Sir Robert was violently attacked by Dr Pitcairne, in a tract more remarkable for the severity of its satire than the fairness or solidity of its arguments, entitled, "*De Legibus Historiæ Naturalis*," Edinburgh, 1696.

In 1694, this ingenious and versatile author published an interesting work on Zoology, entitled "*Phalainologia nova, or Observations on some Animals of the Whale genus lately thrown on the Shores of Scotland*." This was followed by "*The Liberty and Independency of the Kingdom and Church of Scotland asserted from Ancient Records*," in 3 parts, 4to, 1704; and in the same year in which his history of Fife appeared, he published another work, entitled "*Miscellanea quædam eruditæ Antiquitatis*."

Besides these works Sir Robert wrote a great number of learned and highly ingenious treatises and essays for the Royal Society, chiefly on subjects connected with the antiquities of his native country. These were collected and published after his death under the title of "*A collection of several Treatises in folio, concerning Scotland, as it was of old, and also in later times*," by Sir Robert Sibbald, M.D., Edinburgh, 1739. In his antiquarian researches he was greatly assisted by Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, the first native of Scotland who turned his attention to the illustration of the antiquities of his native country. The subject of this memoir was the next. It is recorded of Sir Robert Sibbald, and by himself, that when the earl of Perth was chancellor of Scotland, the latter pressed him with much urgency and great perseverance to come over to the Roman catholic faith. For some time, Sir Robert says, he resisted all his grace's arguments and entreaties, but at length found himself all at once convinced by the reasoning of the chancellor. Under this sudden sense of error, and in the fulness of his new-born contrition, he rushed, with tears in his eyes, into the arms of his converter, and formally embraced his religion. Soon afterwards, remaining still steady in the faith, he accompanied his lordship to London, and resided with him there for one winter. The long and frequent fastings, however, and extremely rigid discipline to which he was now subjected, induced him to reconsider the points of controversy between catholicism and protestantism, and the result was that he discovered he had done wrong in deserting the latter, and with a heart once more filled with contrition, he returned to his original faith. It may not be without its effect on those who shall consider this circumstance as an instance of weakness in Sir Robert Sibbald's character, to learn, that Dr Johnson entertained a very different opinion of it. The great moralist considered it as an honest picture of human nature, and exclaimed, when the subject was discussed in his presence, "How often are the primary motives of our greatest actions as small as Sibbald's for his re-conversion." Sir Robert Sibbald wrote several other works, and promoted the establishment of a botanical garden at Edinburgh. He died about the year 1712.

SINCLAIR, GEORGE, a well-known mathematical writer, was professor of philosophy in the university of Glasgow in the latter part of the seventeenth century. No particulars of his early life have been ascertained. He was admitted a professor of Glasgow university, April 18, 1654,¹ and was ejected in 1662, for declining to comply with the episcopal form of church government, then thrust upon the people of Scotland. He had, in the previous year, published at Glasgow, his first known work, "*Tyrocinia mathematica, in novem tractatus, viz., mathematicum, sphericum, geographicum, et echometricum, divisa*," 12mo. After his ejection, he betook himself to the business of a mineral surveyor and practical engineer, and was employed in that profession by several proprietors of mines in the southern parts of Scotland, and particularly by Sir James Hope, who, having sat in Barebones' parliament, was probably nowise averse to his presbyterian principles. In 1669, he published at Rotterdam, "*Ars Nova et Magna Gravitatis et Levitatis*," 4to. He was employed by the magistrates of Edinburgh, about 1670, to superintend the introduction of water from Corniston into the city; a convenience with which the capital of Scotland had not previously been furnished. Considerable attention seems to have been paid by him to such branches of hydrostatics as were of a practical nature; and it has been said that he was the first person who suggested the proper method of draining the water from the numerous coal mines in the south-west of Scotland. In 1672, he published at Edinburgh a quarto entitled, "*Hydrostaticks; or, the Force, Weight, and Pressure of Fluid Bodies, made evident by physical and sensible Experiments, together with some Miscellany Observations, the last whereof is a short history of Coal*." And, in 1680, he published at the same place, in 8vo, what appears to have been a modification of the same work, "*Hydrostatical Experiments, with Miscellany Observations, and a relation of an Evil Spirit; also a Discourse concerning Coal*." Sinclair's writings, in the opinion of a very able judge, are not destitute of ingenuity and research, though they may contain some erroneous and eccentric views. The work last named contained a rather strange accompaniment to a scientific treatise,—an account of the witches of Glenluce,—which, if there had been no other evidence of the fact, shows the author to have not been elevated by his acquaintance with the exact sciences above the vulgar delusions of his age. It must be recollected, however, that other learned men of that age were guilty of like follies. The self-complacency of Sinclair, and his presbyterian principles provoked the celebrated James Gregory, then a professor at St Andrews, to attack his Hydrostatics in a pamphlet published with the quaint title of the "*Art of Weighing Vanity*," and under the thin disguise of Patrick Mather, archbeadle of the university of St Andrews. It is curious to observe that with all his eagerness to heap ridicule on his antagonist, Gregory never once touches on what would now appear the most vulnerable point, the episode about the witches. After a long interval, Sinclair wrote an answer to Gregory, entitled, "*Cacus pulled out of his den by the heels, or the pamphlet entitled, the New and Great Art of Weighing Vanity examined, and found to be a New and Great Act of Vanity*." But this production was never published: it remains in manuscript in the university library at Glasgow, to which the author appears, from an inscription, to have presented it in 1692. Sinclair was among the first in Britain who attempted to measure the heights of mountains by the barometer. It is said that Hartfell, near Moffat, was the first hill in Scotland of which the height was thus ascertained. In the years 1668 and 1670, he observed the altitudes of Arthur's Seat, Leadhills, and Tinto, above the adjacent plains. He followed the original mode of carrying

¹ Records of the University.

a sealed tube to the top of the mountain, where, filling it with quicksilver, and inverting it in a basin, he marked the elevation of the suspended column, and repeated the same experiment below; a very rude method, certainly,—but no better was practised in England for more than thirty years afterwards. To the instrument fitted up in a frame, Sinclair first gave the name *baroscope*, or *indicator of weight*; a term afterwards changed for *barometer*, or *measurer of weight*. In these rude attempts at measuring weights by the mercurial column, the atmosphere was regarded simply as an homogeneous fluid, and possessing the same density throughout its whole mass; a supposition, which, it is needless to point out, must have led the observer wide of the truth, where the elevation was considerable.

The work by which Sinclair is now best remembered is his “Satan’s Invisible Works Discovered,” which was published about the year 1685, and has since been frequently reprinted. This is a treatise on witches, ghosts, and diablerie, full of instances ancient and modern, and altogether forming a curious record of the popular notions on those subjects at the period when it appeared: it was for a long time a constituent part of every cottage library in Scotland. In Lee’s Memorials for Bible Societies in Scotland, is given the following decree of the Privy Council, in favour of Mr Sinclair’s copyright in this precious production: “Apud Edinburgh, 26 Feb., 1685. The lords of his majesties privy councill considered ane address made to them by Mr George Sinclair, late professor of philosophie at the colledge of Glasgow, and author of the book entitled ‘Satan’s Invisible Works Discovered,’ &c., doe hereby prohibite and discharge all persons whatsomever from printing, reprinting, or importing into the kingdome any copy or copies of the said book during the space of eleven yearis after the date hereof without licence of the author or his order, under the pain of confiscation thereof to the said author, besydes what further punishment we shall think fitt to inflict upon the contraveeners.” The first edition contains a very curious dedication to the earl of Winton, not to be found in the rest, but which has been lately republished in the “Historie of the Hous and Name of Setoun,” printed by the Maitland Club.

It is curious to find science and superstition so intimately mingled in the life of this extraordinary person. In 1688, he published at Edinburgh, in 12mo, the “Principles of Astronomy and Navigation.” The only other publication attributed to him is a translation of David Dickson’s “Truth’s Victory over Error.” It is hardly possible to censure delusions which seem to have been entertained with so much sincerity, and in company with such a zeal for the propagation of real knowledge.

Mr Sinclair was recalled at the Revolution to the charge from which he was expelled twenty-six years before. On the 3rd of March, 1691, the faculty of the college revived the professorship of mathematics, which had been suppressed for want of funds; and at the same time appointed Mr Sinclair to that chair. He died in 1696.

SIMSON, (DR) ROBERT, a mathematician, was the eldest son of Mr John Simson of Kirton-hall, in Ayrshire, and was born on the 14th October, 1687. He was educated at the university of Glasgow, which he first entered as a student in 1701. Being intended for the church, his studies were at first directed chiefly to theological learning, in which, as well as in the classics, he made great progress. He distinguished himself also by his historical knowledge, and was accounted one of the best botanists of his years. At this time no mathematical lectures were given in the college; but, having amused himself in his leisure hours by a few exercises in Euclid, a copy of which he found in the hands of a companion, he quickly found that the bent of his taste and

genius lay in that direction. The farther he advanced in the study of mathematics, the more engaging it appeared; and as a prospect opened up to him of making it his profession for life, he at last gave himself up to it entirely. While still very young, he conceived a strong predilection for the analysis of the ancient geometers; which increased as he proceeded, till it was at last carried almost to devotion. While he, therefore, comparatively neglected the works of the modern mathematicians, he exerted himself, through life, in an uncommon manner, to restore the works of the ancient geometers. The noble inventions of fluxions and logarithms, by means of which so much progress has been made in the mathematics, attracted his notice; but he was satisfied with demonstrating their truth, on the pure principles of the ancient geometry. He was, however, well acquainted with all the modern discoveries; and left, among his papers, investigations according to the Cartesian method, which show that he made himself completely master of it. While devoting himself chiefly to geometry, he also acquired a vast fund of general information, which gave a charm to his conversation throughout all the subsequent years of life. On arriving at his twenty-second year, his reputation as a mathematician was so high, as to induce the members of the college to offer him the mathematical chair, in which a vacancy was soon expected to take place. With all that natural modesty which ever accompanies true genius, he respectfully declined the high honour, feeling reluctant, at so early an age, to advance abruptly from the state of student, to that of professor in the same college; and therefore requested permission to spend one year, at least, in London. Leave being granted to him, without further delay he proceeded to the metropolis, and there diligently employed himself in extending and improving his mathematical knowledge. He now had the good fortune to be introduced to some of the most illustrious mathematicians of the day, particularly Mr Jones, Mr Caswell, Dr Jurin, and Mr Ditton. With the last, indeed, who was then mathematical master of Christ's Hospital, and highly esteemed for his erudition, he was very intimately connected. It appears from Mr Simson's own account, in a letter, dated London, 17th November, 1710, that he expected to have an assistant in his studies, chosen by Mr Caswell; but, from some mistake, it was omitted, and Mr Simson himself applied to Mr Ditton. "He went to him, not as a scholar (his own words); but to have general information and advice about his mathematical studies." Mr Caswell afterwards mentioned to Mr Simson, that he meant to have procured Mr Jones's assistance, if he had not been engaged.

In the following year, the vacancy in the professorship of mathematics at Glasgow did occur, by the resignation of Dr Robert Sinclair or Sinclare; and Mr Simson, who was still in London, was appointed to the vacant chair. The minute of election, which is dated March 11, 1711, concluded with this very nice condition: "That they will admit the said Mr Robert Simson, providing always that he give satisfactory proof of his skill in mathematics previous to his admission." Before the ensuing session at college, he returned to Glasgow; and having submitted to the mere form of a trial, by solving a geometrical problem proposed to him, and also by giving "a satisfactory specimen of his skill in mathematics, and dexterity in teaching geometry and algebra;" having produced also respectable certificates of his knowledge of the science from Mr Caswell and others, he was duly admitted professor of mathematics, on the 20th of November of that year. The first occupation of Mr Simson, was to arrange a proper course of instruction for the students who attended his lectures, in two distinct classes; accordingly, he prepared elementary sketches of some branches, on which there were not suitable treatises in general use. But from an innate love

for the science, and a deep sense of duty, he now devoted the whole of his attention to the study of mathematics; and though he had a decided preference for geometry, he did not confine himself to it, to the exclusion of the other branches of mathematical study, in most of which there is abundant evidence of his being well skilled. From 1711, he continued for nearly half a century to teach mathematics to two separate classes, at different hours, for five days in the week, during a continued session of seven months. His lectures were given with such perspicuity of method and language, and his demonstrations were so clear and successful, that among his scholars several rose to distinction as mathematicians; among whom may be mentioned the celebrated names of Colin Maclaurin, Dr Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh; the two reverend doctors Williamson, one of whom succeeded Dr Simson at Glasgow; the reverend Dr Trail, formerly professor of mathematics at Aberdeen; Dr James Moor, Greek professor at Glasgow; and professor Robison of Edinburgh, with many others of distinguished merit.

In 1758, Dr Simson having arrived at the advanced age of seventy-one years, found it expedient to employ an assistant in teaching; and in 1761, on his recommendation, the reverend Dr Williamson was made his assistant and successor. For the last remaining ten years of his life, he enjoyed a share of good health, and was chiefly occupied in correcting and arranging some of his mathematical papers; and sometimes, for amusement, in the solution of problems and demonstrations of theorems, which had occurred from his own studies, or from the suggestions of others. Though to those most familiar with him, his conversation on every subject seemed clear and accurate, yet he frequently complained of the decline of his memory, which no doubt protracted and eventually prevented him from undertaking the publication of many of his works, which were in an advanced state, and might with little exertion be made ready for the press. So that his only publication, after resigning his office, was a new and improved edition of Euclid's *Data*, which, in 1762, was annexed to the second edition of the *Elements*. From that period, he firmly resisted all solicitations to bring forward any of his other works on ancient geometry, though he was well aware how much it was desired from the universal curiosity excited respecting his discovery of Euclid's *Porisms*. It is a matter of regret, that out of the extensive correspondence which he carried on through life with many distinguished mathematicians, a very limited portion only is preserved. Through Dr Jurin, then secretary to the Royal Society, he had some intercourse with Dr Halley and other celebrated men; he had also frequent correspondence with Mr Maclaurin, with Mr James Stirling, Dr James Moor, Dr Matthew Stewart, Dr William Trail, and Mr Williamson of Lisbon. In the latter part of his life, his mathematical correspondence was chiefly with that eminent geometer, the earl of Stanhope, and with George Lewis Scott, esquire.

A life like Dr Simson's, so uniform and regular, spent for the most part within the walls of a college, affords but little that is entertaining for the biographer. His mathematical researches and inventions form the important part of his history; and, with reference to these, there are abundant materials to be found in his printed works and MSS.; which latter, by the direction of his executor, are deposited in the college of Glasgow.

Dr Simson never was married; he devoted his life purely to scientific pursuits. His hours of study, of exercise, and amusement, were all regulated with the most unerring precision. "The very walks in the squares or gardens of the college were all measured by his steps; and he took his exercises by the hundred of paces, according to his time or inclination." His disposition was by no means of a saturnine cast: when in company with his friends his cou-

versation was remarkably animated, enriched with much anecdote, and enlivened also by a certain degree of natural humour; even the slight fits of absence, to which he was sometimes liable, contributed to the amusement of those around him, without in the slightest degree diminishing their affection and reverence, which his noble qualities were calculated to inspire. At a tavern in the neighbourhood of his college, he established a club, the members of which were, for the most part, selected by himself. They met once a-week (Friday); and the first part of the evening was devoted to the game of whist, of which Dr Simson was particularly fond; but, though he took some pains in estimating chances, it was remarked that he was by no means fortunate in his play. The rest of the evening was spent in social conversation; and, as he had naturally a good taste for music, he did not scruple to amuse his company with a song: and, it is said, he was rather fond of singing some *Greek odes*, to which modern music had been adapted. On Saturdays, he usually dined at the village of Anderston, then about a mile distant from Glasgow, with some of the members of his regular club, and with other respectable visitors, who wished to cultivate the acquaintance, and enjoy the society of so eminent a person. In the progress of time, from his age and high character, the company respectfully wished that every thing in these meetings should be directed by him; and although his authority was somewhat absolute, yet the good humour and urbanity with which it was administered, rendered it pleasing to every body. He had his own chair and particular place at the table; he ordered the entertainment; adjusted the expense, and regulated the time for breaking up. These happy parties, in the years of his severe application to study, were useful relaxations to his mind, and they continued to amuse him till within a few months of his death. A mind so richly endowed by nature and education, and a life of strict integrity and pure moral worth, gave a correspondent dignity to his character, that even in the gayest hours of social intercourse, the doctor's presence was a sufficient guarantee for attention and decorum. He had serious and just impressions of religion; but he was uniformly reserved in expressing particular opinions about it: he never introduced that solemn subject in mixed society; and all attempts to do so in his clubs, were checked with gravity and decision. His personal appearance was highly prepossessing; tall and erect in his carriage, with a countenance decidedly handsome, and conveying a pleasing expression of the superior character of his mind. His manner was somewhat tinged with the fashion which prevailed in the early part of his life, but was exceedingly graceful. He enjoyed a uniform state of good health, and was only severely indisposed for a few weeks before his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1768, in his eighty-first year. He bequeathed a small paternal estate in Ayrshire to the eldest son of his next brother, probably his brother Thomas, who was professor of medicine in the university of St Andrews, and who was known by some works of reputation.

“The writings and publications of Dr Robert Simson, were almost exclusively of the pure geometrical kind, after the genuine manner of the ancients; but from his liberal education, he acquired a considerable knowledge of other sciences, which he preserved through life, from occasional study, and a constant intercourse with some of the most learned men of the age. In the Latin prefaces prefixed to his works, in which there are some history and discussion, the purity of the language has been generally approved.” And many scholars have regretted that he had not an opportunity, while in the full vigour of his intellect, and deeply conversant in Greek and mathematical learning, to favour the world with an edition of Pappus in the original language. He has only two pieces printed in the volumes of the Philosophical Transactions, viz. :—1. Two

General Propositions of Pappus, in which many of Euclid's Porisms are included, vol. xxxii., ann. 1723. These two propositions were afterwards incorporated into the author's posthumous works, published by earl Stanhope.— 2. On the Extraction of the Approximate Roots of Numbers of Infinite Series, vol. xlviii., ann. 1753. His separate publications in his lifetime, were:—3. "Conic Sections," 1735, 4to. 4. "The Loci Plani of Apollonius Restored," 1749, 4to. 5. "Euclid's Elements," 1756, 4to, of which there have been since many editions in 8vo, with the addition of Euclid's Data. In 1776, earl Stanhope printed, at his own expense, several of Dr Simson's posthumous pieces. 1. Apollonius's Determinate Section. 2. A Treatise on Porisms. 3. A Tract on Logarithms. 4. On the Limits of Quantities and Ratios; and, 5., Some Geometrical Problems. Besides these, Dr Simson's MSS. contained a great variety of geometrical propositions, and other interesting observations on different parts of mathematics; but not in a state fit for publication. Among other designs, was an edition of the Works of Pappus, in a state of considerable advancement, and which, had he lived, he might perhaps have published. What he wrote is in the library of the college of Glasgow; and a transcript was obtained by the delegates of the Clarendon press. To this university he left his collection of mathematical books, supposed to be the most complete in the kingdom, and which is kept apart from the rest of the library.

SKINNER, (REV.) JOHN, the well known author of several popular poems, and of an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, was born at Balfour, in the parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire, October 3, 1721. His father was schoolmaster of that parish, and his mother was the widow of Donald Farquharson, Esq. of Balfour. Having in boyhood displayed many marks of talent, he was placed at thirteen years of age in Marischal college, Aberdeen, where his superior scholarship obtained for him a considerable bursary. After completing his academical education, he became assistant to the schoolmaster of Kenmay, and subsequently to the same official at Monymusk, where he was so fortunate as to gain the friendship of the lady of Sir Archibald Grant. The library at Monymusk house, consisting of several thousands of well-selected works, in every department of literature, was placed by lady Grant at his command, and afforded him better means of intellectual improvement, than he could have hoped for in any other situation. He now found reason to forsake the presbyterian establishment, in which he had been reared, and to adopt the principles of the Scottish episcopal church, of which he was destined to be so distinguished an ornament. After spending a short time in Shetland, as tutor to the son of Mr Sinclair of Scalloway, and marrying the daughter of Mr Hunter, the only episcopal clergyman in that remote region, he commenced his studies for the church; and, having been ordained by bishop Dunbar of Peterhead, was appointed, in November, 1742, to the charge of the congregation at Longside, over which he presided for sixty-five years, probably without a wish to "change his place." Of the severities with which the episcopal clergy were visited after the rebellion of 1745, Mr Skinner bore his full share. His chapel was one of those which were burnt by the ruthless soldiers of Cumberland. After that period, in order to evade an abominable statute, he officiated to his own family within his own house, while the people stood without, and listened through the open windows. Nevertheless, he fell under the ban of the government, for having officiated to more than four persons, and was confined, for that offence, in Aberdeen jail, from May 26th, to November 26th, 1753. This was the more hard, as Mr Skinner was by no means a partizan of the Stuart family.

Mr Skinner's first publication was a pamphlet, entitled "A Preservative against Presbytery," which he published in 1746, to re-assure the minds of his

people, under the alarming apprehension of the total extirpation of Scottish episcopacy. In 1757, he published at London, a "Dissertation on Job's Prophecy," which received the high approbation of bishop Sherlock. In 1767, he published a pamphlet, vindicating his church against the aspersions of Mr Sieve-wright, of Brechin. The life of this good and ingenious man passed on in humble usefulness, cheered by study, and by the cultivation of the domestic affections. His home was a small cottage at Linshart, near Longside, consisting simply of a kitchen and parlour, the whole appearance of which was, in the highest degree, primitive. Here, upon an income resembling that of Goldsmith's parson, he reared a large family, the eldest of whom he had the satisfaction to see become his own bishop, long before his decease. His profound biblical and theological knowledge is evinced by his various works, as collected into two volumes, and published by his family. The livelier graces of his genius are shown in his familiar songs; "Tullochgorum;" "The Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn;" "O why should old age so much wound us, O?" &c. In 1788, he published his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland;" in which an ample account is given of the affairs of the episcopal church, from the time of the Reformation, till its ministers at length consented, on the death of Charles Stuart, to acknowledge the existing dynasty. This work, consisting of two volumes octavo, is dedicated in elegant Latin, "Ad Filium et Episcopum," to his son and bishop. It may be remarked, that he wrote Latin, both in prose and verse, with remarkable purity.

In 1799, Mr Skinner sustained a heavy loss in the death of Mrs Skinner, who, for nearly fifty-eight years, had been his affectionate partner in the world's warfare. On this occasion, he evinced the poignancy of his grief, and the depth of the attachment with which he clung to the remembrance of her, in some beautiful Latin lines, both tenderly descriptive of the qualities which she possessed, and, at the same time, mournfully expressive of the desolation which her departure had caused. Till the year 1807, the even tenor of the old man's course was unbroken by any other event of importance. In the spring of that year, however, the scarcely healed wound in his heart was opened by the death of his daughter-in-law, who expired at Aberdeen, after a very short, but severe illness. Each by a widowed hearth, the father and son were now mutually anxious, that what remained of the days of the former should be spent together. It was accordingly resolved, that he should remove from Linshart, and take up his abode with the bishop, and his bereaved family. To meet him, his grandson, the Rev. John Skinner, minister at Forfar, now dean of Dunblane, repaired, with all his offspring, to Aberdeen. This was in unison with a wish which himself had expressed. To use his own affecting language, it was his desire *to see once more his children's grand-children, and peace upon Israel.*

On the 4th of June, he bade adieu to Linshart for ever. We may easily conceive the profound sorrow which, on either side, accompanied his separation from a flock among whom he had ministered for sixty-five years. He had baptized them all; and there was not one among them who did not look up to him as a father. After his arrival in Aberdeen, he was, for a week or ten days, in the enjoyment of his usual health. Surrounded by his numerous friends, he took a lively interest in the common topics of conversation; sometimes amusing them with old stories, and retelling to them anecdotes of men and things belonging to a past generation. Twelve days after his arrival, he was taken ill at the dinner-table, and almost immediately expired. He was buried in the church-yard of Longside, where his congregation have erected a monument to his memory. On a handsome tablet of statuary marble, is to be seen the simple but faithful record of his talents, his acquirements, and his virtues.

SMELLIE, WILLIAM, an eminent naturalist, and useful miscellaneous writer, was born in Edinburgh, about the year 1740, being the son of Mr Alexander Smellie, a builder, who belonged to the stricter order of presbyterians, and was the constructor of the martyrs' tomb in the Greyfriars' church-yard. William Smellie received the rudiments of his education at the parish school of Duddingston, and, though destined for a handicraft profession, was afterwards for some time at the High School of Edinburgh. His father at first wished to apprentice him to a stay-maker, but the business of a printer was ultimately preferred, and he was indentured to Messrs Hamilton, Balfour, and Neil, then eminent professors of that art in the Scottish capital. While yet very young, he had the misfortune to lose his father; but the exemplary conduct of the young printer soon placed him above the necessity of depending upon others for his subsistence. Every leisure moment was devoted to study, or literary pursuits; and only a few years of his apprenticeship had elapsed, when he was appointed by his employers to the responsible office of corrector of the press, with a weekly allowance of ten shillings, instead of his stipulated wages of three shillings. Instead of wasting his earnings on frivolity or dissipation, young Smellie took the opportunity of attending a regular course of the university classes. The result of this was soon evidenced, by his producing an edition of Terence, in duodecimo, wholly set up and corrected by himself; which Harwood, the philologist, declares to be "an immaculate edition;" and which gained to his masters an honorary prize, offered by the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, for the best edition of a Latin classic. Upon the expiry of his indentures, Mr Smellie, then only nineteen years of age, accepted employment from Messrs Murray and Cochrane, printers in Edinburgh, as corrector of their press, and conductor of the Scots Magazine, a work published by them, and which kept a conspicuous station in the literary world, from 1739, up to a recent period. For these duties, besides setting types and keeping accounts "in cases of hurry," Mr Smellie at first received the sum of sixteen shillings per week. Notwithstanding, however, his severe professional labours, he still prosecuted his classical studies with great ardour; and nothing, perhaps, can better illustrate the self-tasking nature of Mr Smellie's mind, than the fact, that he instructed himself in the Hebrew language, solely that he might be thereby fitted for superintending the printing of a grammar of that tongue, then about to be published by professor Robertson. It appears that about this time he was strongly disposed to renounce his mechanical employment, and adopt one of the learned professions, having already almost fitted himself either for that of medicine or theology. But prudential motives, induced by the certainty of a fixed source of emolument, determined him to adhere to the business of a printer, which he did throughout life. It is here worthy of notice, that, during his engagement with Messrs Murray and Cochrane, a dispute having arisen between the masters and journeymen printers of Edinburgh, respecting the proper mode of calculating the value of manual labour by the latter; Mr Smellie devised a plan for regulating the prices of setting up types, on fixed principles, being in proportion to the number of letters, of differently sized types, in a certain space. This useful plan has since been almost universally adopted throughout the kingdom.

Mr Smellie continued in the employment of the above gentlemen for six years; that is to say, until the year 1765, during which time we find him steadily advancing himself in life, extending his acquaintance amongst the *literati* of the day, and improving himself by every means within his reach. One plan for the latter purpose which he adopted, was that of entering largely into an epistolary correspondence with his acquaintances, with the view of

giving him freedom and facility in committing his thoughts to paper. He likewise co-operated with a number of young men of similar habits and pursuits to his own, in establishing a weekly club, which they termed the *NEWTONIAN SOCIETY*, and which included the names of president Blair, Dr Hunter, Dr Blacklock, Dr Buchan, (author of the *Domestic Medicine*,) Dr Adam, and many others who afterwards became celebrated in their respective walks in life. After the discontinuance of this society, another was instituted in 1778, called the *Newtonian Club*, of which Mr Smellie was unanimously chosen secretary. This latter institution comprised the names of Dr Duncan, Dr Gregory, Dugald Stewart, professor Russell, Dr Wardrope,—in short the whole senatus of the university, with many other illustrious individuals. Mr Smellie had a decided preference to the study of natural history, especially of botany, and about the year 1760, collected an extensive *Hortus Siccus* from the fields around Edinburgh, which he afterwards presented to Dr Hope, professor of botany in the university. He likewise in the same year, gained the honorary gold medal given by the professor for the best botanical dissertation; and soon afterwards wrote various other discourses on vegetation, generation, &c., all of which were subsequently published in a large work solely written by himself, entitled the “*Philosophy of Natural History*.” He was besides no mean chemist, at a time when chemistry had scarcely been reduced to a science, and was generally held as alike visionary and vain. Upon the publication of the *Essays* of the celebrated David Hume, printed by Mr Smellie, an extended correspondence took place between them, in which the latter contested with great logical force and acumen many of the heterodox doctrines advanced by the former; particularly that respecting the credibility of miracles. Mr Smellie afterwards drew up, in a masterly manner, an abstract of the arguments for and against that principle of our religious faith, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and which was published in the first edition of that work.

Mr Smellie lived in terms of great intimacy with Dr William Buchan, author of the well-known “*Domestic Medicine*.” That work passed through the press in Messrs Murray and Cochrane’s printing office, and entirely under Mr Smellie’s superintendence, Dr Buchan himself then residing in England. It is well ascertained that Mr Smellie contributed materially, both by his medical and philological knowledge, to the value and celebrity of the publication; and from the fact, indeed, of his having re-written the whole of it for the printers, he was very generally considered at the time, in Edinburgh, to be the sole author of it. The work has now naturally become almost obsolete from the rapid progress in the medical and other sciences therewith connected, since its composition; but the fact of its having passed through between twenty and thirty editions, ere superseded, fully establishes the claim of the author, or rather authors, to a reputation of no mean note. It appears, by their correspondence, that Dr Buchan was particularly anxious that Mr Smellie should qualify himself as M.D., and share his fortunes in England, in the capacity of assistant; but, with his constitutional prudence, the latter declined the invitation. The correspondence, however, induced him to give a marked attention to the practice and theory of medicine, as well as to stimulate him in his favourite study of natural history; thus qualifying himself for the excellent translation of Buffon, which he subsequently executed.

In 1763, being then only twenty-three years of age, Mr Smellie married a Miss Robertson, who was very respectably connected. By this marriage he had thirteen children, many of whom he lost by death. In 1765, upon the conclusion of his engagement with Messrs Murray and Cochrane, he commenced business as a master-printer, in conjunction with a Mr Auld, Mr Smellie’s pe-

enary proportion of the copartnery being advanced for him by Dr Hope and Dr Fergusson, professors in the university. In 1767, a new copartnery was formed by the introduction of Mr Balfour, bookseller, who brought along with him the property of a newspaper called the *Weekly Journal*, which had for a considerable time previously been established. The management of the latter was solely intrusted to Mr Smellie; but as it happened to be a losing concern, he shortly afterwards insisted on its discontinuance. This led to disputes, which finally terminated in a dissolution of the copartnery in 1771; when a new contract was entered into between Mr Balfour and Mr Smellie only. About the same time, he appears to have been on terms with the eminent Mr William Strahan, to undertake the management of the vast printing concern carried on by him in London; but from some cause not clearly explained the treaty was broken off. It is worthy of mention, as showing the respect in which Mr Smellie was at this time held, that upon his entering on this new copartnery, lord Kames became security for a bank credit in favour of the younger printer, to the amount of £300. His lordship appears to have had a particular regard for Mr Smellie, and at his suggestion the latter commenced the composition of a series of lectures on the Philosophy of Natural History. About the same time the professorship of natural history in the Edinburgh university fell vacant, and great exertions were made to procure Mr Smellie's appointment to it; but the political interest of his rival, Dr Walker, prevailed, and was even strong enough to prevent him from delivering his lectures publicly, although the Antiquarian Society, of whose Museum he was keeper, offered him the use of their hall for that purpose.

Mr Smellie's acquaintance with lord Kames originated in his venturing to send, anonymously however, some animadversions on his lordship's "Elements of Criticism," whilst that work was going through the press of Messrs Murray and Cochrane in 1764. Lord Kames replied by thanking the young critic, and requesting him to reveal himself. The result was a strict and intimate friendship during their lives; lord Kames uniformly submitting all his subsequent works to the critical judgment of Mr Smellie, who, after the death of lord Kames, wrote the life of his illustrious friend for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in the third edition of which it appeared in 1800.

Amongst Mr Smellie's many literary undertakings, one of the earliest was the compilation and entire conducting of the first edition of the work just named, which began to appear in numbers at Edinburgh in 1771, and was completed in three volumes in quarto. The plan, and all the principal articles were devised and written or compiled by him, and he prepared and superintended the whole of that work, for which he only received the sum of £200, from its proprietors, Mr Andrew Bell, engraver, and Mr Colin Macfarquhar, printer. Had Mr Smellie adhered to this literary project, there is little doubt that he would thereby ultimately have realized an ample fortune, as both the proprietors died in great affluence, arising solely from the labours of Mr Smellie in the original fabrication of the work. Unfortunately, however, when applied to by the proprietors to undertake the second edition, he fastidiously refused to meddle with it on account of their desiring to introduce a plan of biography into it, which Mr Smellie imagined would detract from its dignity as a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.

It will, we should think, be interesting to our readers to learn something of the early history of a work which has latterly swelled out into such bulk and importance. Of the original edition—the entire work, as we have said, of Mr Smellie—it is not exactly known how many copies were thrown off. The second edition, which consisted of 1500 copies, extended to ten volumes

quarto. A third edition, in eighteen volumes, was commenced in 1786, and extended to 10,000 copies. By this edition the proprietors are said to have netted £42,000 of clear profit, besides being paid for their respective work as tradesmen—the one as printer, and the other as engraver. The fourth edition extended to twenty quarto volumes, and 3,500 copies. In the fifth and sixth editions, only part of the work was printed anew; and to these a supplement in six volumes was added by Mr Archibald Constable, after the property of the work had fallen into his hands. An eighth edition, under the editorship of professor Traill, is now in the course of publication.

In the year 1773, Mr Smellie, in conjunction with Dr Gilbert Stuart, commenced a new monthly publication, *The Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, which was conducted for some years with great spirit and talent, but was dropped in 1776, after the production of 47 numbers, forming five octavo volumes. Its downfall was attributed to a continued series of harsh and wanton attacks from the pen of Dr Stuart, on the writings of lord Monboddo, which disgusted the public mind. Edinburgh did not at that time afford such ample scope for literary stricture as at the present day. Lord Monboddo, nevertheless, continued to be warmly attached to Mr Smellie, and they lived on terms of the strictest intimacy till his lordship's death.

In the year 1780, on the suggestion of the late earl of Buchan, a society for collecting and investigating the antiquities of Scotland, was instituted at Edinburgh. Of this society, Mr Smellie was personally invited by his lordship, to become a member; which he did, and was appointed printer of their journals and transactions. Next year, he was elected keeper of their museum of natural history; and in 1793, he was elected secretary, which office he held till his death.

It is not, we believe, generally known, that with Mr Smellie originated that admirable scheme of a statistical account of all the parishes of Scotland, which was afterwards brought to maturity by Sir John Sinclair. At the desire of the Antiquarian Society, Mr Smellie, in 1781, drew up a regular plan of the undertaking, which was printed and circulated; but the individuals to whom they were addressed, do not seem to have understood the important nature of the application, and only a very few complied with the directions given in it.

In 1780, Mr Smellie commenced the publication of his "*Translation of Buffon's Natural History*;" a work which has ever stood deservedly high in the opinion of naturalists, being illustrated with numerous notes and illustrations of the French author, besides a considerable number of new observations. It is worthy of notice, that Mr Smellie's knowledge of the French tongue, which is acknowledged to have been profound, was entirely acquired by himself, without the aid of a master; and it is a curious fact, that, of a language he so thoroughly understood, he could scarcely pronounce one word. This fact gave unbounded surprise to a friend of Buffon, who came to Edinburgh on a visit, and waited on Mr Smellie. The stranger noted it down as one of the greatest wonders of his travels, intending, he said, to astonish the French naturalist, by relating it to him. It is perhaps the best of all tests, as regards the merits of Mr Smellie's translation, that Buffon himself was highly pleased with it, and even requested him to translate some of his other works; but this, from prudential motives, Mr Smellie declined.

In the year 1780, the partnership between Mr Smellie and Mr Balfour was dissolved, when the former entered into partnership with Mr William Creech, bookseller. This connexion continued to the end of 1789, when Mr Smellie commenced, and ever afterwards carried on business, entirely on his own account.

In 1790, Mr Smellie published the first volume of his "Philosophy of Natural History," the origin of which has been already noticed. The copyright was at the same time purchased by Mr Elliot, bookseller, Edinburgh, for one thousand guineas. The second and concluding volume was not published, until four years after his death. Besides this and the other larger works, which we have before adverted to, as the production of Mr Smellie, we have seen a list of upwards of forty miscellaneous essays, upon almost all subjects—from politics to poetry, from optics to divinity—which he composed at different times, and under various circumstances; and from his indefatigable industry, and wonderful facility of writing, it is supposed that these are scarcely a moiety of his literary effusions.

Mr Smellie's acquaintance with Robert Burns, commenced in the year 1787, upon the occasion of the poet's coming to Edinburgh to publish his poems, which were printed by Mr Smellie. From their similarly social dispositions, and mutual relish of each other's wit, an immediate and permanent intimacy took place betwixt them. After Burns's departure from Edinburgh, they corresponded frequently; but the greater part of the communications were afterwards destroyed by Mr Smellie, equally, perhaps, on the bard's account and his own. Of the high opinion which the latter entertained, however, of his friend—and it is well known how fastidious was his taste on the score of talent, honesty, and real friendship amongst his fellow creatures—we have sufficient evidence in the poetical sketch, published in the works of Burns, commencing—

————— "To Crochallan came
The old cock'd hat, the brown surtout, the same," &c.

Mr Smellie expired, after a long illness, on the 24th June, 1795, in his fifty-fifth year; and we regret to add his name to the long list of men of genius, who have terminated a career of labour, anxiety, and usefulness, amid the pressure of pecuniary difficulties. Some years after his death, a small volume was published, under the care of his son, containing memoirs of three distinguished men, with whom he had been acquainted; lord Kames, Dr John Gregory, and Mr David Hume: it formed part of a more extended design, which Mr Smellie had sketched out, but found not time to execute. A memoir of Mr Smellie himself was published by Mr Robert Keir, in two volumes octavo; a work, perhaps, disproportioned to the subject, but containing many curious anecdotes.

SMETON, THOMAS, an eminent clergyman of the sixteenth century, was born at the little village of Gask, near Perth, about 1536. Nothing satisfactory seems to be known respecting his parentage: Wodrow conjectures it to have been mean, but upon no better ground than the fact of his having been born at an obscure place. It is certain, however, that he enjoyed the advantages of the best instructors that his country then afforded. He received his elementary education at the celebrated school of Perth, then taught by Mr A. Simson, and no less famous under some of its subsequent masters. Smeton is believed to have had, as his schoolfellows, James Lawson and Alexander Arbuthnot, both of whom afterwards acted a conspicuous part in the ecclesiastical transactions of their country. The thorough knowledge of the Latin language displayed by our author, leaves little room to doubt that he profited by the honourable emulation, which was doubtless excited among such scholars. At the age of seventeen, (1553,) he was incorporated a student in St Salvator's college, St Andrews; and here he had the satisfaction of joining Arbuthnot, who had entered St Mary's two years earlier.¹ Smeton is believed to have studied philosophy

¹ Records of the University of St Andrews.

under the provost of his college, Mr William Cranstoun; but how far he prosecuted his studies, none of his biographers mention. He ultimately became one of the regents in the college, and continued in that situation, till the doctrines of the Reformation began to be warmly agitated in the university. When the protestant party at length gained the ascendancy, Smeton, still zealously attached to the popish system, left his native country, and resided for many years with his continental brethren. The history of his life, for about twenty years, is most fortunately preserved, as related by himself, in the Diary of Mr James Melville; a work, as we have already mentioned, (see article James Melville,) of so interesting a character, that we feel gratified by every opportunity of quoting from it. Luckily the narrative, while it is perfectly distinct, is so much condensed, as to be completely suited to our limits; and we, therefore, make no apology for its introduction.

“ At the reformation of religion, Mr Smeton, being put from the auld college of S. Andros, past to France, whare in Paris he thought nikle vpon the trew way of saluation; and be dealling of diuerss of his acquentance, namlie, Mr Thomas Matteland, a young gentilman of guid literature and knowlage in the treuthe of religion, was brought to ken and be inclynde to the best way: whar also he was acquaintit with my vncl, Mr Andro and Mr Gilbert Moncreiff. Yit lothe to alter his mynd wherin he was brought vpe, and fand himself sum tyme fullie perswadit in the mater of his fathe and saluation. He thought he wald leaue na thing vntryed and esseyit pertaining therto; and, vnderstanding that the ordour of the jesuists was maist lerned, halie, and exquisite in the papistrie, he resolut to enter in thair ordour during the yeirs of probation; at the end wharof, giff he fand himself sattleed in his auld fathe, he wald continow a jesuist; and, giff he fand nocht amangs tham that might remoue all the douttes he was cast into, it was bot folie to seik fordard, he wald yeild vnto that light that God be the earnest delling of his lowing frinds and companions haid enterit him into. And sa he enterit in the Jesuists collage at Paris, whar he fand Mr Edmont Hay, a verie lowing frind, to whom he communicat all his mynd. Mr Edmont, seing him worthlie to be win to tham, and giffen to lerning and light, directes him to Rome; and be the way he cam to Geneu, whar Mr Andro Meluill and Mr Gilbert Moncreiff being for the tyme, he communicat with tham his purpose, and cravit thair prayers. Of his purpose they could gie na guid warand; but thair prayers they promissit hartlie. Sa making na stey ther, he past fordward to Rome, whar he was receavit in the Jesuist's collage gladlie. In the quhilk collage was a father, hauldin of best lerning and prudence, wha was ordeanit to trauell with sic as wer deteinit in pressone for religion, to convert tham: of him he cravit that he might accompanie him at sic tymes when he went to deall with these presoners, quhilk was granted to him. Be the way as they cam from the presoners to the collage, quhilk was neir a myle, Mr Thomas wald tak the argument of the presoners, and mentein it against the jesuist, for reasoning's cause, and indeid to be resolut; and the more he enisisted, he fand the treuthe the strangar, and the jesuist's answers never to satisfie him. This way he continowit about a yeir and a half in Rome, till at last he becam suspitiis, and therfor was remitted back to Paris throw all the collages of the jesuists be the way, in all the quhilk he endeworit mair and mair to haiff his douttes resolut, bot fand himself ay fordard and fordard confirmed in the veritie. Coming to Paris again, he abaid ther a space verie lowingly interteined be Mr Edmont;² till at last he could nocht bot

² According to Dempster, Smeton taught humanity in the university of Paris, and afterwards in the college of Clermont, with great applause. (See M'Crie's Melville, 2nd. edit. 330, note.)

discover himself to Mr Edmont, to whom he says he was alsauikle behauldin as to anie man in the world; for, nochtwithstanding that he perceavit his mynd turned away from thair ordour and relligion, yit he ceased nocht to counsall him frindlie and fatherlie, and suffered him to want na thing. And being a verie wyse man, he thinks to keipe Mr Thomas quyet, and nocht to suffer him to kythe an aduersar against them. Perceaving, therfor, the young man giften to his buik, he giftes him this counsall, to go to a quyet collage, situat in a welthie and pleasant part in Lorain, whair he sould haiff na thing to do, but attend vpon his buiks; whair he sould haiff all the antient doctors, and sic buiks as yie [he] pleisit to reid; he sould leak na necessars; thair he sould keip him quyet, till God wrought fordar with him, vtherwayes he wald cast himself in grait danger. Thair was na thing that could allure Mr Thomas mair nor this, and therfor he resolued to follow his counsall; and, taking iorney, went towards Lorain, whair be the way the Lord leyes his hand vpon him, and visites him with an extream fever, casting him in vttermaist pean and perplexitie of body and mynd. Thair he fought a maist strang and ferfull battelle in his conscience: bot God at last prevealling, he determines to schaw himself, abandone that damnable societie, and vtter, in plean professon, the treuthe of God, and his enemies' falshods, hypocrisie, and craft. Sa coming bak to Paris again, he takes his leue of Mr Edmont, wha yit, nochtwithstanding, kythes na thing bot lowing frindschipe to him; and at his parting, giftes thrie counsalls:—1. To reid and studie the antient doctors of the kirk, and nocht to trow the ministers. 2. To go ham to his awin cuntry. And, thridly, To marie a wyff.—From that he manifested himself amangs the professours of religion, till the tyme of the massacre, quhilk schortlie ensewit; at the quhilk, being narrowlie sought, he cam to the Englis ambassator, Mr Secretarie Walsingham, in whase house, lyand at Paris for the tyme, as in a comoun girthe, he, with manie ma, war seaff. With whome also he cam to Eingland soone efter, whar he remeained schoolmaister at Colchester, till his coming to Scotland.

“At his coming to Scotland, he was gladlie content to be in companie with my vnkle, Mr Andro [Melville], and sa agreit to be minister at Pasley, in place of Mr Andro Pulwart, wha enterit to the subdeaurie of Glasgw, when Mr David Cuninghame was bischopit in Aberdein. A litle efter his placing, Mr Andro, principall of the collage, put in his hand Mr Archibald Hamiltone's apostats' buik, ‘*De Confusione Caluiniænæ Sectæ apud Scotos*;' and efter conference theranent, movit him to mak answer to the sam, quhilk was published in print the yeir following, to the grit contentment of all the godlie and lernit. Mr Thomas was verie wacryff and peanfull, and skarslie tuk tyme to refrechie nature. I haiff sein him oft find fault with lang denners and suppers at general assemblies; and when vthers wer therat, he wald abstein, and be about the penning of things, (wherin he excellit, bathe in langage and form of letter,) and yit was nocht rustic nor auster, bot sweit and affiabe in companie, with a modest and naue grautie; verie frugall in fude and reyment; and walked maist on fut, whom I was verie glad to accompanie, whylis to Sterling, and now and then to his kirk, for my instruction and comfort. He louit me exceeding weill, and wald at parting thrust my head into his bosom, and kis me.

“He being weill acquainted with the practizes of papists, namlie, jesuists, and their deuyces for subuerting the kirk of Scotland, bathe publiche and privatlie, ceasit nocht to cry and warn ministers and schollars to be diligent vpon ther charges and buiks, to studie the controuersies, and to tak head they neglected nocht the tyme, for ther wald be a strang vnseatt of papists. Also, he was carefull to know the religion and affection of noble men, insinuating him in thair companie, in a wyse and graue maner and warning tham to be war of

euill companie, and nocht to send thair berns to dangerus partes. And, finalie, Mr Andro and he marvelouslie conspyring in purposes and iudgments, war the first motioners of an anti-seminarie to be erected in St Andros to the jesuist seminaries, for the course of theologie, and cessit never at assemblies and court, till that wark was begun and sett fordwart."

There perhaps never was a period more calculated to bring forth the talents of our countrymen, than that of the Reformation. Accordingly, Mr Smeton was soon required by his brethren to take an active part in the more public transactions of the church. In October, 1578, he was nominated one of the assessors to the moderator of the General Assembly; an appointment conferred at that time upon the most learned and judicious of the members. But his talents were considered as fitting him for the performance of functions still more important. He was chosen moderator of the next Assembly, which met in July, 1579, and which was called to the consideration of many important questions. Among these may be mentioned, the finishing of the first Scottish edition of the Bible. In 1580, he became the opponent of Nicol Burn, a professor of philosophy in the university of St Andrews, who had turned papist.³ Of this controversy, Dr Mackenzie promised an account in his *Life of Burn*, but his biographical work never reached that point.

James Melville has alluded in the passage we have quoted from his *Diary*, to the anxiety of his uncle and Smeton that the young noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland should be educated at home, and to the measures which they proposed for the attainment of that object. They had at length the satisfaction of seeing their new constitution of the university of St Andrews approved by the church, and ratified by parliament. Melville was chosen principal of St Mary's, or the New college, and, after much opposition, arising, however, from no other motive than a conviction of his usefulness as minister of Paisley, Smeton was appointed his successor by letters under the Privy Seal, dated the 3rd of January, 1580. Most unfortunately the records of the university of Glasgow are almost wholly lost for the period during which this excellent man presided over it. His duties, however, are known to have been of no light description; he was the sole professor of divinity, and had also the charge of the religious instruction of the parish of Govan. Besides the mere literary department, as it may be termed, of his duties, he had the general superintendence of the university, in which was included the by no means pleasant office of inflicting corporal punishment on unruly boys. Almost equally little has been preserved respecting Smeton's share in the ecclesiastical transactions during the remainder of his life. He was chosen moderator of the General Assembly held in April, 1583. We have already alluded in the life of Mr Robert Pont to the removal of that learned man for a short period to St Andrews, and to the reasons which obliged him to relinquish that charge. Andrew Melville was anxious that his place should be supplied by Smeton, and, it is not improbable, intended to adopt some measures for bringing the state of that town under the notice of this Assembly. But it was the policy of the Prior and his dependants to frustrate the settlement, whatever might be the merits of the intended minister, that they might spend in extravagance or debauchery the funds which were destined for his support. The king, therefore, probably instigated by that ecclesiastic (the earl of March) but under the specious pretext of a fatherly care over the university of Glasgow, forbade the Assembly to "meddle with the removing of any of the members thereof, and especially of the Principal." Smeton's old schoolfellow, Arbuthnot, now principal of King's

³ Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii.

college, Aberdeen, was soon afterwards chosen by the Kirk Session of St Andrews; but this election produced no more favourable result.

Principal Smeton attended the following General Assembly (October 1583), and was again employed in some of its most important business. But the course of honour and usefulness on which he had now entered was destined to be of very short duration. Soon after his return to Glasgow, he was seized with a high fever, and died, after only eight days' illness, on the 13th of December, 1583. About six weeks earlier, his friend Arbuthnot, with whom he had been so long and intimately connected, had been cut off in his 46th year, and thus was the country at once bereaved of two of its greatest lights at a period of no common difficulty. That was indeed "a dark and heavie wintar to the kirk of Scotland."

The habits and acquirements of Smeton must have peculiarly adapted him for the charge of a literary, and, more particularly, of a theological seminary. While the latter were unquestionably inferior to those of his predecessor in the principalship of Glasgow college, his manners were of a milder and more conciliatory character. Yet even his learning was greatly beyond that of the mass of his brethren. He wrote Latin with elegance and facility, and was a Greek and Hebrew scholar. Nor had he, like many of our travelled countrymen, neglected the study of his native tongue, in which he wrote with great propriety. His knowledge of controversial divinity, derived most probably from the circumstances attending his conversion to the Protestant faith, is represented as superior to that of almost any of his contemporaries. Of the works which he has left behind him the best known is his reply to Hamilton, which was published at Edinburgh in 1579, with the following title: "Ad Virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii Apostatæ Dialogum de Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos impie conscriptum Orthodoxa Responsio, Thoma Smetonio Scoto auctore, in qua celebris illa quæstio de Ecclesia, de Vniversalitate, Successione, et Romani Episcopi Primatu brevier, dilucide, et accurate, tractatur: adjecta est vera Historia extremæ vitæ et obitus eximii viri Joan: Knoxii Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ instauratoris fidelissimi," 8vo. The General Assembly held in April, 1581, ordered the method of preaching and prophesying by . . . "to be put in Scottish be their brother Mr Thomas Smetone;" but if this supposed translation of Hyperius *De formandis Concionibus* was ever printed, it has escaped the researches of all our bibliographers. The Dictates of principal Smeton,—that is, the notes which he dictated to his students,—were preserved in archbishop Spotswood's time, and are said by that author to have been highly esteemed. Dempster also ascribes to Smeton "Epitaphium Metallani, lib. i."

Principal Smeton adopted the advice of his excellent friend, Edmond Hay, and "married a wyff," but at what time is uncertain. We are equally uncertain whether he left any children behind him. The name of Smeton, and in one or two instances that of Thomas Smeton, occur in the records of the university of Glasgow in the early part of the seventeenth century, and, as the name was by no means common, these persons were not improbably his descendants.⁴

SMITH, ADAM, LL.D. and F.R.S. both of London and Edinburgh, one of the brightest ornaments of the literature of Scotland, was born on the 5th of June, 1723, at the town of Kirkaldy, in the county of Fife. He was the only child of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs at Kirkaldy, and Mar-

⁴ Abridged from Wodrow's *Life of Smeton*, apud M.S. in *Bibl. Acad. Glasg.* vol. i. See also James Melville's *Diary*, pp. 56—8, and *McCrie's Life of Melville*, second edition, i. 158. ii. 379—383.

garet Douglas, daughter of Mr Douglas of Strathenry. His father having died some months before his birth, the duty of superintending his early education devolved entirely upon his mother.

A singular accident happened to him when he was about three years of age. As he was amusing himself one day at the door of his uncle, Mr Douglas's house in Strathenry, he was carried off by a party of gypsies. The vagrants, however, being pursued by Mr Douglas, were overtaken in Leslie-wood, and his uncle, as Mr Stewart remarks, was thus the happy instrument of preserving to the world a genius which was destined not only to extend the boundaries of science, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe.

The constitution of Dr Smith, during infancy, was infirm and sickly, and required all the delicate attentions of his surviving parent. Though she treated him with the utmost indulgence, this did not produce any unfavourable effect either on his dispositions or temper, and he repaid her affectionate solicitude by every attention that filial gratitude could dictate during the long period of sixty years.

He received the first rudiments of his education at the grammar school of Kirkaldy, which was then taught by Mr David Miller, a teacher, in his day, of considerable reputation. He soon attracted notice by his passion for books, and the extraordinary powers of his memory. Even at this early period, too, he seems to have contracted those habits of speaking to himself, and of absence in company, for which, through life, he was so remarkable. The weakness of Dr Smith's constitution prevented him from engaging in the sports and pastimes of his school companions, yet he was much beloved by them on account of his friendly and generous dispositions.

Having remained at Kirkaldy till he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent, in 1737, to the university of Glasgow, where he prosecuted his studies during three years. Mr Stewart mentions on the authority of one of Mr Smith's fellow students, Dr Maclaine of the Hague, that his favourite pursuits while attending that university were mathematics and natural philosophy. He attended, however, during his residence in Glasgow, the lectures of the celebrated Dr Hutcheson on moral philosophy; and it is probable that they had a considerable effect in afterwards directing his attention to those branches of science in which he was to become so distinguished.

Dr Smith's friends having directed his views towards the English church, he went, in 1740, to Balliol college, Oxford, as an exhibitioner on Snell's foundation, where he remained seven years. At this celebrated seat of classical learning he cultivated with the greatest assiduity and success the study both of the ancient and modern languages, and became intimately acquainted with the works of the Roman, Greek, French, and Italian poets, as well as with those of his own country. With the view of improving his style, he used frequently to employ himself in the practice of translation, particularly from the French, as he was of opinion that such exercises were extremely useful to those who wished to cultivate the art of composition. But Dr Smith's obligations to the university of Oxford seem to be confined to his proficiency in classical learning, and a critical acquaintance with the niceties and delicacies of the English tongue. Very little could be learned from the public lectures on philosophy: the logic of Aristotle still maintaining its influence in both the English universities. A circumstance, however, which, upon good authority, is related to have occurred during his residence at Oxford, shows, that in his private studies Dr Smith did not confine his reading in philosophy to the works of Aristotle and the schoolmen. Something having excited the suspicion of his superiors with regard to the nature of his studies in private, the heads of his

college entered his apartment one day without any previous notice, and un- luckily found the young philosopher engaged in reading Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*. The offender was of course severely reprimanded, and the objectionable work seized and carried off.

Dr Smith, having found that the ecclesiastical profession was not suitable to his taste, resolved at last to renounce every prospect of rising to eminence by church preferment. He accordingly returned, in 1747, against the wishes of his friends, to Kirkcaldy, and without having determined on any fixed plan of life, resided there nearly two years with his mother. In the end of the year 1748, Dr Smith fixed his residence in Edinburgh, and, under the patronage of lord Kames, delivered lectures during three years on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. These lectures were never published, but it appears that the substance of them was communicated to Dr Blair, who began his celebrated course on the same subject in 1755, and that that gentleman had a high opinion of their merits. In a note to his eighteenth lecture, Dr Blair thus notices them: "On this head, of the general character of style, particularly the plain and the simple, and the characters of those English authors who are classed under them in this and the following lecture, several ideas have been taken from a manuscript treatise on Rhetoric, part of which was shown to me many years ago, by the learned and ingenious author, Dr Adam Smith; and which, it is hoped, will be given by him to the public."

It appears to have been during the residence of Mr Smith at this time in Edinburgh that his acquaintance with Mr David Hume commenced, which lasted without the slightest interruption till the death of the latter in 1776. It was a friendship, Mr Stewart remarks, on both sides founded on the admiration of genius, and the love of simplicity; and which forms an interesting circumstance in the history of each of these eminent men from the ambition which both have shown to record it to posterity.

The literary reputation of Dr Smith being now well established, he was elected, in 1751, professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, and in the year following he was removed to the chair of moral philosophy in the same university, vacant by the death of Mr Thomas Craigie, who was the immediate successor of Dr Hutcheson. In this situation he remained during thirteen years, a period which he used to consider as the happiest of his life, the studies and inquiries in which his academical duties led him to engage being those which were most agreeable to his taste. It is highly probable that his appointment to the professorship of moral philosophy was the means of inducing him to mature his speculations in ethics and political economy, and to undertake those great works which have immortalized his name in the literature of Scotland.

No part of the lectures which Dr Smith delivered either as professor of logic or of moral philosophy, has been preserved, except what has been published in the "*Theory of Moral Sentiments*," and the "*Wealth of Nations*." The following account of them, however, has been given by Mr Miller, the celebrated author of the *Historical View of the English Government*, and professor of law in the university of Glasgow, who had the advantage of being one of Mr Smith's pupils.

"In the professorship of logic, to which Mr Smith was appointed on his first introduction into this university, he soon saw the necessity of departing widely from the plan that had been followed by his predecessors, and of directing the attention of his pupils to studies of a more interesting and useful nature than the logic and metaphysics of the schools. Accordingly, after exhibiting a general view of the powers of the mind, and explaining as much of the ancient

logic as was requisite to gratify curiosity with respect to an artificial method of reasoning, which had once occupied the universal attention of the learned, he dedicated all the rest of his time to the delivering of a system of rhetoric and belles lettres. The best method of explaining and illustrating the various powers of the human mind, the most useful part of metaphysics, arises from an examination of the several ways of communicating our thoughts by speech, and from an attention to the principles of those literary compositions which contribute to persuasion or entertainment. By these arts everything that we perceive or feel, every operation of our minds, is expressed and delineated in such a manner, that it may be clearly distinguished and remembered. There is at the same time no branch of literature more suited to youth at their first entrance upon philosophy than this, which lays hold of their taste and their feelings.

“It is much to be regretted that the manuscript, containing Mr Smith’s lectures on this subject, was destroyed before his death. The first part, in point of composition, was highly finished; and the whole discovered strong marks of taste and original genius. From the permission given to students of taking notes, many observations and opinions contained in these lectures have either been detailed in separate dissertations, or engrossed in general collections, which have since been given to the public. But these, as might be expected, have lost the air of originality, and the distinctive character which they received from their first author, and are often obscured by that multiplicity of common-place matter in which they are sunk and involved.

“About a year after his appointment to the professorship of logic, Mr Smith was elected to the chair of moral philosophy. His course of lectures on this subject was divided into four parts. The first contained natural theology; in which he considered the proofs of the being and attributes of God, and those principles of the human mind upon which religion is founded. The second comprehended ethics, strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his ‘Theory of Moral Sentiments.’ In the third part, he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to *justice*, and which being susceptible of precise and accurate rules, is for that reason capable of a full and particular explanation.

“Upon this subject he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu; endeavouring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages, and to point out the effects of those arts which contribute to subsistence, and to the accumulation of property, in producing correspondent improvements, or alterations in law and government. This important branch of his labours he also intended to give to the public; but this intention, which is mentioned in the conclusion of the ‘Theory of Moral Sentiments,’ he did not live to fulfill.

“In the last part of his lectures he examined those political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of *justice*, but that of *expediency*, and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power, and the prosperity of a state. Under this view, he considered the political institutions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects, contained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of ‘An Inquiry into the Nature and Sources of the Wealth of Nations.’

“There was no situation in which the abilities of Mr Smith appeared to greater advantage than as a professor. In delivering his lectures, he trusted almost entirely to extemporary elocution. His manner, though not graceful, was plain and unaffected; and, as he seemed to be always interested in the sub-

ject, he never failed to interest his hearers. Each discourse consisted commonly of several distinct propositions, which he successively endeavoured to prove and illustrate. These propositions, when announced in general terms, had, from their extent, not unfrequently something of the air of a paradox. In his attempts to explain them, he often appeared at first not to be sufficiently possessed of the subject, and spoke with some hesitation. As he advanced, however, the matter seemed to crowd upon him; his manner became warm and animated, and his expression easy and fluent. In points susceptible of controversy, you could easily discern, that he secretly conceived an opposition to his opinions; and that he was led upon this account to support them with greater energy and vehemence. By the fulness and variety of his illustrations, the subject gradually swelled in his hands, and acquired a dimension, which, without a tedious repetition of the same views, was calculated to seize the attention of his audience, and to afford them pleasure as well as instruction, in following the same subject through all the diversity of shades and aspects in which it was presented, and afterwards in tracing it backwards to that original proposition, or general truth, from which this beautiful train of speculation had proceeded.

"His reputation as a professor was accordingly raised very high; and a multitude of students from a great distance resorted to the university merely upon his account. Those branches of science which he taught became fashionable at this place, and his opinions were the chief topics of discussion in clubs and literary societies. Even the small peculiarities in his pronunciation or manner of speaking became frequently the objects of imitation."

The first publications of Mr Smith, it is understood, were two articles which he contributed anonymously to a work called the "Edinburgh Review," begun in 1755, by some literary gentlemen, but of which only two numbers ever appeared. The first of these articles was a Review of Dr Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, which displays considerable acuteness, and the other contained some general observations on the state of literature in the different countries of Europe.

In 1759, his great ethical work, entitled, "Theory of Moral Sentiments, or an Essay towards an analysis of the Principles by which men naturally judge concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbour, and afterwards of Themselves," made its appearance. This work contributed greatly to extend the fame and reputation of the author; and is unquestionably entitled to a place in the very first rank in the science of morals. Dr Brown, in his eighteenth lecture, thus speaks of it: "Profound in thought, it exhibits, even when it is most profound, an example of the graces with which a sage imagination knows how to adorn the simple and majestic form of science; that it is severe and cold only to those who are themselves cold and severe, as in these very graces it exhibits in like manner an example of the reciprocal embellishment which imagination receives from the sober dignity of truth. In its minor details and illustrations, indeed, it may be considered as presenting a model of philosophic beauty of which all must acknowledge the power, who are not disqualified by their very nature for the admiration and enjoyment of intellectual excellence; so dull of understanding as to shrink with a painful consciousness of incapacity at the very appearance of refined analysis, or so dull and cold of heart, as to feel no charm in the delightful varieties of an eloquence, that, in the illustration and embellishment of the noblest truths, seems itself to live and harmonize with those noble sentiments which it adorns." But it is chiefly in its minor analyses that the work of Dr Smith possesses such excellence. Its leading doctrine has been often shown to be erroneous, and by none with

more acuteness than by Dr Brown. We shall very shortly explain the nature of that leading doctrine, and endeavour to show how it has been refuted.

It is impossible for us to contemplate certain actions performed by others, or to perform such actions ourselves, without an emotion of moral approbation or disapprobation arising in our minds; without being immediately impressed with a vivid feeling, that the agent is virtuous or vicious, worthy or unworthy of esteem. An inquiry regarding such moral emotions, must form the most interesting department of the philosophy of the mind, as it comprehends the whole of our duty to God, our fellow creatures, and ourselves. This department of science is termed Ethics, and is sometimes, though not very correctly, divided into two parts; the one comprehending the theory of morals, and the other its practical doctrines. The most important question to be considered in the theoretical part of ethics, is the following:—What is essential to virtue and vice—that is to say—what is common, and invariably to be found in all those actions of which we morally approve, and what is in the same way peculiar to those which we morally condemn? Philosophers have formed various opinions upon this subject. Hobbes and his followers contended that all merit and demerit depends upon political regulations: that the only thing essential to a virtuous or vicious action, is its being sanctioned or discountenanced by the association of men, among whom it is performed. Mr Hume and others have supported the more plausible theory, that what is utility to the human race, unavoidably makes itself the measure of virtue; that actions are virtuous or vicious, according as they are generally acknowledged to be, in their final effects, beneficial or injurious to society in general. These, and many other theories of morals, have been often shown to be erroneous; and it would be out of place here, to enter into any discussion regarding them. We pass on to notice the theory of Dr Smith.

According to him, all moral feelings arise from sympathy. It is a mistake to suppose that we approve or disapprove of an action immediately on becoming acquainted with the intention of the agent, and the consequences of what he has done. Before any moral emotion can arise in the mind, we must imagine ourselves to be placed in the situation of the person who has acted, and of those to whom his action related. If, on considering all the circumstances in which the agent is placed, we feel a complete sympathy with the feelings that occupied his mind, and with the gratitude of the person who was the object of the action, we then approve of the action as right, and feel the merit of the person who performed it, our sense of the propriety of the action depending on our sympathy with the agent; our sense of the merit of the agent on our sympathy with the object of the action. If our sympathies be of an opposite kind, we disapprove of the action, and ascribe demerit to the agent.

In estimating the propriety or merit of our own actions, on the other hand, we, in some measure, reverse this process, and consider how our conduct would appear to an impartial spectator. We approve or disapprove of it, according as we feel from the experience of our own former emotions, when we imagined ourselves to be placed in similar circumstances, estimating the actions of others, that it would excite his approval or disapprobation. Our moral judgments, with respect to our own conduct are, in short, only applications to ourselves of decisions, which we have already passed on the conduct of others.

But in this theory of Dr Smith, the previous existence of those moral feelings, which he supposes to flow from sympathy, is in reality assumed; for the most exact accordance of sentiment between two individuals, is not sufficient to give rise to any moral sentiment. In the very striking emotions of taste, for

example, Dr Brown remarks, we may feel, on the perusal of the same poem, the performance of the same musical air, the sight of the same picture or statue, a rapture or disgust, accordant with the rapture or disgust expressed by another reader, or listener, or spectator; a sympathy far more complete than takes place in our consideration of the circumstances in which he may have had to regulate his conduct in any of the common affairs of life. If mere accordant of emotion, then, imply the feeling of moral excellence of any sort, we should certainly feel a moral regard for all whose taste coincides with ours; yet, however gratifying the sympathy in such a case may be, we do not feel, in consequence of this sympathy, any morality in the taste that is most exactly accordant with our own. There is an agreement of emotions, but nothing more; and if we had not a principle of moral approbation, by which, independently of sympathy, and previously to it, we regard actions as right, the most exact sympathy of passion would, in like manner, have been a proof to us of an agreement of feelings, but of nothing more. It proves to us more; because the emotions which we compare with our own, are recognized by us as moral feelings, independently of the agreement.

But though the leading doctrine of Dr Smith's theory be considered by many, apparently on just grounds, as erroneous, his work is still unquestionably one of the most interesting which have been produced on moral science. It abounds in faithful delineations of characters and manners, and contains the purest and most elevated maxims for the practical regulation of human life. The style, though perhaps not sufficiently precise for the subject, is throughout eloquent, and serves, by the richness of its colouring, to relieve the dryness of some of the more abstract discussions.

Dr Smith's "Dissertation on the Origin of Languages," which is now generally bound up with the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," made its first appearance with the second edition of that work. In this ingenious and beautiful tract, the author gives a theoretical history of the formation of languages, in which he endeavours to ascertain the different steps by which they would gradually arrive at their present so artificial and complicated state.

As the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" contains the most important part of Dr Smith's ethical doctrines, he was enabled, after the publication of that work, to devote a larger part of his course of lectures, than he had previously done, to the elucidation of the principles of jurisprudence and political economy. From a statement which he drew up in 1755, in order to vindicate his claim to certain political and literary opinions, it appears that, from the time when he obtained a chair in the university of Glasgow, and even while he was delivering private lectures in Edinburgh, he had been in the habit of teaching the same liberal system of policy, with respect to the freedom of trade, which he afterwards published in the "Wealth of Nations." His residence in one of the largest commercial towns in the island, must have been of considerable advantage to him, by enabling him to acquire correct practical information on many points connected with the subject of his favourite studies; and Mr Stewart states, as a circumstance very honourable to the liberality of the merchants of Glasgow, that, notwithstanding the reluctance so common among men of business to listen to the conclusions of mere speculation, and the direct opposition of Dr Smith's leading principles to all the old maxims of trade, he was able, before leaving the university, to rank some of the most eminent merchants of the city among the number of his proselytes.

The publication of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," served greatly to increase the reputation of its author. In 1762, the *Senatus Academicus* of the university of Glasgow unanimously conferred on him the honorary degree of

Doctor of Laws, in testimony, as expressed in the minutes of the meeting, of their respect for his universally acknowledged talents, and of the advantage that had resulted to the university, from the ability with which he had, for many years, expounded the principles of jurisprudence.

Towards the end of 1763, an important event occurred in Dr Smith's life. Having received an invitation from Mr Charles Townsend, husband of the duchess of Buccleuch, to accompany the young duke, her grace's son, on his travels, he was induced, from the liberal terms in which the proposal was made, and the strong desire he entertained of visiting the continent, to resign his chair at Glasgow, and accept of the offer. "With the connection which he was led to form, in consequence of this change in his situation," Mr Stewart remarks, "he had reason to be satisfied in an uncommon degree; and he always spoke of it with pleasure and gratitude. To the public, it was not, perhaps, a change equally fortunate, as it interrupted that studious leisure for which nature seems to have destined him, and in which alone he could have hoped to accomplish those literary projects which had flattered the ambition of his youthful genius."

Dr Smith having joined the duke of Buccleuch at London, in the early part of the year 1764, they set out for the continent in the month of March. After remaining only ten or twelve days in the capital of France, they proceeded to Toulouse, where they resided during eighteen months. Toulouse was at that time the seat of a parliament; and the intimacy in which he lived with some of its principal members, afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the most correct information in regard to the internal policy of France.

After leaving Toulouse, they proceeded through the southern provinces to Geneva; and having spent two months in that city, returned to Paris about Christmas, 1765, where they remained nearly a year. During their abode in Paris, Dr Smith, through the recommendation of Mr Hume, and his own celebrity, lived on the most intimate terms with the best society in the city. Turgot, (afterwards comptroller-general of finance,) Quesnay, Necker, d'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, the duc de la Rochefoucault, and Madame Riccaboni, were among the number of his acquaintances; and some of them he continued ever afterwards to reckon among his friends. It is highly probable that he derived considerable advantage from his intercourse with Quesnay, the celebrated founder of the sect of Economists. Of this profound and ingenious man, Dr Smith entertained the highest opinion; and he has pronounced his work upon Political Economy, with all its imperfections, to be the nearest approximation to the truth, that had then been published, on the principles of that very important science. Dr Smith intended to have dedicated to Quesnay the "Wealth of Nations," but was prevented by his death.

Although Dr Smith had made some very severe remarks in his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," on the celebrated maxims of the duke of Rochefoucault, this did not prevent him from receiving the utmost kindness and attention from the author's grandson. A short time before Dr Smith left Paris, he received a flattering letter from the duke of Rochefoucault, with a copy of a new edition of the *Maxims* of his grandfather; and informing Dr Smith, at the same time, that he had been prevented from finishing a translation of his "Theory of Morals" into French, only by the knowledge of having been anticipated in the design.

Dr Smith returned with his pupil to London, in October, 1766; and soon after took up his residence with his mother at Kirkaldy, where, with the exception of a few occasional visits to London and Edinburgh, he resided constantly during the next ten years, engaged habitually in intense study. Mr

Hume, who considered the town as the proper scene for a man of letters, made many ineffectual attempts to prevail upon him to leave his retirement. During this residence of Dr Smith at Kirkaldy, he was engaged chiefly in maturing his speculations upon Economical Science. At length, in 1776, the "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," made its appearance: a work which holds nearly the same rank in political economy, that Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding does in the philosophy of the mind, or the Principia of Newton in astronomy.

Our limits prevent us from giving anything like a particular analysis of this great work, but we shall endeavour to give some brief account of it. We shall notice very shortly the state of the science at the time when Dr Smith wrote—the different leading principles which the illustrious author endeavours to establish, and the principal merits and defects of the work.

The object of political economy is to point out the means by which the industry of man may be rendered most productive of the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life; and to ascertain the laws which regulate the distribution of the various products which constitute wealth among the different classes of society. Though these inquiries be in the highest degree interesting and important, the science of political economy is comparatively of recent origin. It was not to be expected that, among the Greeks and Romans, who considered it degrading to be engaged in manufactures or commerce, and among whom such employments were left to slaves—where moralists considered the indulgence of luxury to be an evil of the first magnitude; that the science which treats of the best methods of acquiring wealth, should be much attended to. At the revival of letters, these ancient prejudices still maintained a powerful influence, and, combined with other causes, long prevented philosophers from turning their attention to the subject.

The first inquirers in political economy were led away by a prejudice, which is, perhaps, one of the most deeply rooted in the human mind; namely, that wealth consists solely in gold and silver. From this mistake grew up that system of commercial policy, which has been denominated the mercantile system, according to the principles laid down, in which the commerce of Europe was, in a great measure, regulated at the time when Dr Smith's work appeared. The leading doctrine of the commercial system was, that the policy of a country should be directed solely to the multiplication of the precious metals. Hence the internal commerce of a nation came to be entirely overlooked, or viewed only as subsidiary to the foreign; and the advantage derived from foreign trade was estimated by the excess of the value of the goods exported, above that of those which were imported; it being supposed that the balance must be brought to the country in specie. To the radical mistake upon which the mercantile system was founded, may be traced those restrictions upon the importation, and the encouragement given to the exportation of manufactures, which, till lately, distinguished the commercial policy of all the nations in Europe. It was imagined that, by such regulations, the excess of the value of exports over imports, to be paid in gold, would be increased.

During the seventeenth, and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, various pamphlets had appeared, in which some of the fundamental principles of political economy were distinctly enough laid down, and which had a tendency to show the futility of the mercantile theory. For a particular account of these publications, and their various merits, we must refer to Mr M'Culloch's able Introductory Discourse to the last edition of the "Wealth of Nations." We shall here only remark, that though several of these treatises contain the germs of some of the truths to be found in the "Wealth of Nations;" yet

the principles laid down in them are often stated only in a cursory and incidental manner. Their authors frequently appear not to be aware of the importance of the truths which they have discovered; and in none of them is anything like a connected view of political economy to be found.

The only work that was given to the world before the "*Wealth of Nations*," in which an attempt was made to expound the principles of political economy in a logical and systematic manner, was the *Economical Table* of the celebrated Quesnay, a French physician, which was published in 1758: but the theory of this distinguished economist is very erroneous. Having been educated in the country, he was naturally inclined to regard agriculture with partiality; and he had come to the conclusion, that it was the only species of industry which could possibly contribute to increase the wealth of a nation. Everything which ministers to the wants of man, must be originally derived from the earth; and the earth, therefore, Quesnay contended, must be the only source of wealth. As manufacturers and merchants do not realize any surplus in the shape of rent, he conceived that their operations, though highly useful, could not add any greater value to commodities than the value of the capital consumed by them. Into this erroneous theory he seems to have been led, from being unable to explain the nature of rent; and from being unacquainted with that fundamental principle in political economy, that labour is the cause of exchangeable value.

But, though Quesnay conceived agriculture to be the only source of wealth, the principles of his system fortunately did not lead him to solicit for it any exclusive protection. On the contrary, he contended that the interest of all the different classes of society would be best promoted, by the establishment of a system of perfect freedom. It must, he conceived, be advantageous to the cultivators of the soil, that the industry of manufacturers and merchants should not be fettered; for the more liberty they enjoyed, the greater would be their competition, and in consequence the cheaper would their services be rendered to the agriculturists. On the other hand, it was the interest of the manufacturers, that the cultivators of the soil should also have perfect freedom; for the greater liberty they enjoyed, the more would their industry increase that surplus fund, from which, according to his theory, the whole national revenue was ultimately derived.

It was in the work of Dr Smith, that the sources of the wealth and prosperity of nations, were first fully and correctly explored, and, in a systematic manner, distinctly explained; and that the advantages to be derived from commercial freedom, were first satisfactorily established. In opposition to the principles of the commercial system, Dr Smith showed that wealth does not consist in gold and silver, but in the abundance of the various necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life; that labour is the only source of wealth; and, in opposition to the French economists, that labour is productive, when employed in manufactures and commerce, as well as in agriculture. He has investigated the various causes by which labour may be rendered most productive; and has shown how immensely its powers are increased, by being divided among different individuals, or nations. He has proved, with great power of reasoning, that all restrictions upon either the internal or external commerce of a country, are in the highest degree absurd and pernicious; and that the progress of real opulence will be most rapidly accelerated, when the industry of every individual and nation is employed in the production of those articles for which, either from natural or artificial causes, they are best adapted, and when the most unlimited freedom of making exchanges is everywhere allowed. "It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family," he remarks, B. iv. c. 2, "never to attempt to make at home, what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor

does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker; the shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a tailor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers; all of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry, in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours, and to purchase with a part of its produce, whatever else they have occasion for." "What is prudence in the conduct of any private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage." "The natural advantages which one country has over another in producing particular commodities, are sometimes so great, that it is acknowledged by all the world, to be in vain to struggle with them. By means of glasses, hot-beds, and hot-walls, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine can be made of them, at about thirty times the expense for which at least equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reasonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of claret and burgundy in Scotland? But if there would be a manifest absurdity in turning towards any employment thirty times more of the capital and industry of the country, than would be necessary to purchase from foreign countries an equal quantity of the commodities wanted; there must be an absurdity, though not altogether so glaring, yet exactly of the same kind, in turning towards any such employment a thirtieth, or even a three-hundredth part more of either."

But though Dr Smith contended upon correct principles for unlimited freedom of trade and commerce, and conceived that all the different branches of industry must be advantageous to society, he was of opinion that all were not *equally* advantageous. Agriculture he conceived to be the most productive employment in which capital could be engaged; the home trade to be more productive than the foreign; and the foreign than the carrying trade. But these distinctions are evidently erroneous. The self-interest of individuals will always prevent them from employing their capital in manufactures, or in commerce, unless they yield as large profits as they would have done, if they had been employed in agriculture: and a state being only a collection of individuals, whatever is most beneficial to them, must also be most advantageous to the society. Dr Smith has made another mistake in regard to the productiveness of labour. He divides all labourers into two classes, the productive and the unproductive; and he limits the class of productive labourers to those whose labour is immediately fixed, and realized in some vendible commodity. But certainly all labour ought to be reckoned productive, which, either directly or *indirectly*, contributes to augment the wealth of a society. It is impossible to hold that the labour of an Arkwright, or a Watt, was unproductive.

Few chapters in the "Wealth of Nations" are more valuable, than that in which the illustrious author explains the causes of the apparent inequality in the wages and profits derived from different employments. He has shown, in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, that when allowance is made for all the advantages and disadvantages attending the different employments of labour and stock, wages and profits must, in the same neighbourhood, be either perfectly equal, or continually tending to equality. The circumstances which he enumerates, as making up for a low state of wages in some employments, and counterbalancing a high one in others, are five in number. First, the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the employments themselves; secondly, the easiness and cheapness, or the difficulty and expense of learning them; thirdly,

the constancy or inconstancy of employment in them; fourthly, the small or great trust which must be reposed in those who exercise them; and, fifthly, the probability or improbability of success in them. Differences in the rate of profit seem to be occasioned, chiefly from the risk to which capital is exposed, being greater in some employments than in others.

One of the most important inquiries in political economy, is the investigation of the laws which regulate the exchangeable value of the different productions of industry; and the disquisitions of Dr Smith on this subject, are extremely valuable. He has shown, in opposition to the opinion commonly before entertained on the subject, that the price of commodities, the quantity of which may be indefinitely increased, does not depend upon their scarcity or abundance, but upon the cost of their production; that although variations in the supply of any article, or in the demand for it, may occasion temporary variations in its exchangeable value, the market price is permanently regulated by the natural price, and on an average corresponds with it. In estimating the elements, however, which form the necessary price of commodities, he has fallen into some very important errors, particularly with regard to rent, which, from being unacquainted with the causes that produce it, he considered to be one of the component parts of price. It was subsequently suggested by Dr Anderson, and more specifically laid down by Ricardo and others, (that rent is the difference between the product of the fruitful soil of a country, (in comparison with the amount of labour and capital expended on it,) and the product of such less fruitful soil, as the pressure of population renders it necessary to bring into cultivation; and that rent being the difference between returns from an equal amount of capital applied to superior soils, and to that which is the most unproductive, is the effect, and not the cause, of the dearth of agricultural products; and cannot, therefore, form an element in their natural price.

The error which Dr Smith has fallen into, with regard to rent, is certainly the most important mistake in the "Wealth of Nations," and has vitiated a considerable part of the work.¹ Among other mistakes, it has led him into error, in regard to the ultimate incidence of different taxes, and the circumstances which determine the rate of wages and profits. Had the illustrious author, too, been acquainted with the true theory of rent, he would not have contended that corn, upon an average, was the most invariable of all commodities in its value.

Many other important subjects, besides those we have so briefly noticed, are discussed by Dr Smith; but we cannot farther extend our remarks. With all its defects, the "Wealth of Nations" will ever remain a great standard work in the science of political economy, and an illustrious monument of the genius and talents of its author. The publication raised him to the highest rank in the literary world; and he enjoyed, during fifteen years, the fame which he had so justly acquired. His work soon after being published, was translated into all the languages of Europe; his opinions were referred to in the house of commons, and he himself consulted by the minister. Before his death, too, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the principles of commercial freedom, which he had so ably advocated, were beginning to influence the councils of Great Britain, and other European states.

A few months after the publication of the "Wealth of Nations," Dr Smith lost his highly esteemed friend, Mr Hume, who died upon the 25th of August, 1776. Dr Smith was most assiduous in his attentions during the last illness of this illustrious man; and gives an interesting account, in a letter to Mr Straban

¹ Dr Smith's theory of rent, however, is not without its defenders. See, in particular, the Westminster Review.

of London, of the circumstances attending his death, and a eulogium upon his character. To those who are acquainted with Mr Hume's religious opinions, some parts of this eulogium must certainly appear too high; and the author was, accordingly, attacked on the subject by Dr Horne, bishop of Norwich, who rashly ascribed to him, without any evidence, the same sceptical opinions which had been entertained by his illustrious friend.

Dr Smith resided chiefly in London for about two years after his great work had been given to the public, during which time his society was courted by the most distinguished persons in the metropolis. In 1778, he was appointed one of the commissioners of customs in Scotland, through the unsolicited application of his friend and former pupil, the duke of Buccleuch. Upon obtaining this appointment, he removed to Edinburgh, where he spent the remaining years of his life, enjoying comparative affluence, and the society of his earliest and most esteemed friends. His mother, who was then in extreme old age, accompanied him to town; and his cousin, Miss Jane Douglas, who had formerly been a member of his family in Glasgow, undertook the superintendence of his domestic arrangements.

The accession to his income which he had now obtained, enabled him to gratify, to a much greater extent than formerly, the natural generosity of his disposition. "The state of his funds at the time of his death," Mr Stewart remarks, "compared with his very moderate establishment, confirmed, beyond a doubt, what his intimate acquaintances had often suspected, that a large proportion of his savings was allotted to offices of secret charity."

In 1787, Dr Smith was elected lord rector of the university of Glasgow. A letter addressed to the principal of the university on the occasion, shows the high sense he felt of this honour. "No preferment," he writes, "could have given me so much real satisfaction. No man can owe greater obligations to a society, than I do to the university of Glasgow. They educated me: they sent me to Oxford. Soon after my return to Scotland, they elected me one of their own members; and afterwards preferred me to another office, to which the abilities and virtues of the never to be forgotten Dr Hutcheson, had given a superior degree of illustration. The period of thirteen years, which I spent as a member of that society, I remember as by far the most useful, and therefore as by far the happiest and most honourable period of my life: and now, after three and twenty years' absence, to be remembered in so very agreeable a manner by my old friends and protectors, gives me a heartfelt joy, which I cannot easily express to you."

During the last residence of Dr Smith in Edinburgh, his studies appear to have been almost entirely suspended. The petty routine duties of his office, though requiring little exertion of thought, were sufficient to occupy a considerable portion of his time and attention; and it is deeply to be regretted, that, in all probability, these duties alone prevented him from giving that "Account of the general principles of Law and Government, and of the different Revolutions they have undergone in the different ages and periods of society," which he had stated in the concluding paragraph of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," it was his intention to do.

In 1784, Dr Smith lost his mother, to whom he had been most tenderly attached; and her death was followed, four years afterwards, by that of Miss Douglas. These domestic afflictions contributed to hasten the decline of his health. His constitution had never been robust, and began early to give way. His last illness, which arose from a chronic obstruction of the bowels, was lingering and painful. He had the consolation, however, of receiving the ten-

derest sympathy of his friends; and he bore his affliction with the most perfect resignation. His death took place in July, 1790.

A few days before his death, when Dr Smith found his end rapidly approaching, he caused all his manuscripts to be destroyed excepting a few essays, which he entrusted to the care of his executors, Dr Black and Dr Hutton. The intention of destroying all those of his manuscripts which he did not think worthy of publication, he had long entertained, and seems to have proceeded from a laudable anxiety in regard to his literary reputation. It is not exactly known what were the contents of the manuscripts which were destroyed, but there is every reason to believe that they consisted in part of the lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres which he had delivered at Edinburgh in 1748, and of the lectures on natural religion and jurisprudence, which formed an important part of the course he had delivered at Glasgow. Of the essays which were left to the care of his friends six were published a few years after his death by his illustrious executors. Three of them are fragments of a great work which he at one time intended to write on the principles which lead and direct philosophical inquiries, but which he had long abandoned as far too extensive. The first contains the history of astronomy, which seems to be the most complete of the three; the second contains the history of ancient physics; and the third gives the history of the ancient logics and metaphysics. To these essays, which are all written upon the plan of his *Essay on the formation of the Languages*, are subjoined other three, which treat, 1st. Of the nature of that imitation which takes place in what are called the Imitative Arts. 2nd. Of the affinity between certain English and Italian Verses; and 3rd. Of the External Senses. As to the merits of these essays the distinguished editors express their hopes "that the reader would find in them that happy connexion, that full and accurate expression, and that clear illustration which are conspicuous in the rest of the author's works, and that though it is difficult to add much to the great fame he so justly acquired by his other writings, these would be read with satisfaction and pleasure." The library which Dr Smith had collected during his life though small was valuable. The books were well selected, and he was particularly careful that the bijoux which he admitted into his collection should be in excellent order. Mr Smellie, in his life of Dr Smith, says, "The first time I happened to be in his library, observing me looking at the books with some degree of curiosity and perhaps surprise, for most of the volumes were elegantly, and some of them superbly bound,—'You must have remarked,' said he, 'that I am a beau in nothing but my books.'" This valuable library, together with the rest of his property, Dr Smith bequeathed to Mr David Douglas, advocate, his cousin.

We shall close this sketch of Dr Smith's life with a few observations on his habits and private character, extracted from the valuable Account of his Life and Writings given by Mr Stewart.

"To his private worth, the most certain of all testimonies may be found in that confidence, respect, and attachment which followed him through all the various relations of life; the serenity and gayety he enjoyed under the pressure of his growing infirmities, and the warm interest he felt to the last in everything connected with the welfare of his friends, will be long remembered by a small circle, with whom, as long as his strength permitted, he regularly spent an evening in the week; and to whom the recollection of his worth still forms a pleasing, though melancholy bond of union.

"The more delicate and characteristic features of his mind, it is perhaps impossible to trace. That there were many peculiarities both in his manners and in his intellectual habits was manifest to the most superficial observer; but

although, to those who knew him, these peculiarities detracted nothing from the respect which his abilities commanded; and, although to his intimate friends they added an inexpressible charm to his conversation, while they displayed in the most interesting light the artless simplicity of his heart; yet it would require a very skilful pencil to present them to the public eye. He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the business of active life. The comprehensive speculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention continually supplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects, and to common occurrences; and he frequently exhibited instances of absence which have scarcely been surpassed by the fancy of *La Bruyere*. Even in company he was apt to be engrossed with his studies; and appeared, at times, by the motion of his lips, as well as by his looks and gestures, to be in the fervour of composition. I have often, however, been struck, at the distance of years, with his accurate memory of the most trifling particulars, and am inclined to believe, from this and some other circumstances, that he possessed a power, not perhaps uncommon among absent men, of recollecting, in consequence of subsequent efforts of reflection, many occurrences which at the time when they happened did not seem to have sensibly attracted his notice.

"To the defect now mentioned, it was probably owing that he did not fall in easily with the common dialogue of conversation, and that he was somewhat apt to convey his own ideas in the form of a lecture. When he did so, however, it never proceeded from a wish to engross the discourse, or to gratify his vanity. His own inclination disposed him so strongly to enjoy in silence the gayety of those around him, that his friends were often led to concert little schemes in order to engage him in the discussions most likely to interest him. Nor do I think I shall be accused of going too far when I say, that he was scarcely ever known to start a new topic himself, or to appear unprepared upon those topics that were introduced by others. Indeed, his conversation was never more amusing than when he gave a loose to his genius upon the very few branches of knowledge of which he only possessed the outlines.

"The opinions he formed of men upon a slight acquaintance were frequently erroneous; but the tendency of his nature inclined him much more to blind partiality, than to ill-founded prejudices. The enlarged views of human affairs on which his mind habitually dwelt, left him neither time nor inclination to study in detail the uninteresting peculiarities of ordinary characters, and accordingly, though intimately acquainted with the capacities of the intellect and the workings of the heart, and accustomed in his theories to mark with the most delicate hand the nicest shades both of genius and of the passions; yet in judging of individuals it sometimes happened that his estimates were in a surprising degree wide of the truth.

"The opinions to which in the thoughtlessness and confidence of his social hours, he was accustomed to hazard on books and on questions of speculation, were not uniformly such as might have been expected from the superiority of his understanding, and the singular consistency of his philosophical principles. They were liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances, and by the humour of the moment: and when retailed by those who only saw him occasionally, suggested false and contradictory ideas of his real sentiments. On these, however, as on most other occasions, there was always much truth, as well as ingenuity in his remarks; and if the different opinions which at different times he pronounced upon the same subject had been all combined together, so as to modify and limit each other, they would probably have afforded materials for a decision equally comprehensive and just. But, in the society of

his friends, he had no disposition to form those qualified conclusions that we admire in his writings; and he generally contented himself with a bold and masterly sketch of the object from the first point of view in which his temper or his fancy presented it. Something of the same kind might be remarked when he attempted in the flow of his spirits to delineate those characters which from long intimacy he might have been disposed to understand thoroughly. The picture was always lively and expressive, and commonly bore a strong and amusing resemblance to the original, when viewed under one particular aspect; but seldom, perhaps, conveyed a just and complete conception of it in all its dimensions and proportions. In a word, it was the fault of his unpremeditated judgments to be systematical, and too much in extremes.

"But in whatever way these trifling peculiarities in his manners may be explained, there can be no doubt that they were intimately connected with the genuine artlessness of his mind. In this amiable quality he often recalled to his friends the accounts that are given of good La Fontaine; a quality which in him derived a peculiar grace from the singularity of its combination with those powers of reason and of eloquence which in his political and moral writings have long engaged the admiration of Europe.

"In his external form and appearance there was nothing uncommon. When perfectly at ease, and when warmed with conversation, his gestures were animated, and not ungraceful; and in the society of those he loved, his features were often brightened with a smile of inexpressible benignity. In the company of strangers his tendency to absence, and perhaps, still more, his consciousness of this tendency, rendered his manner somewhat embarrassed,—an effect which was probably not a little heightened by those speculative ideas of propriety, which his recluse habits tended at once to perfect in his conception, and to diminish his power of realizing. He never sat for his picture; but the medallion of Tassie conveys an exact idea of his profile, and of the general expression of his countenance."

SMOLLETT, TOBIAS, or, to give him his full name, as it appears in the baptismal record, TOBIAS GEORGE SMOLLETT, a celebrated novelist, poet, and miscellaneous writer, was born in the old house of Dalquhurn, near the modern village of Renton, in the parish of Cardross, Dumbartonshire, in the year 1721. His family had held considerable local rank for several centuries. His grandfather, Sir James Smollett, of Bonhill, served as commissioner for Dumbarton, in the Scottish parliaments, between the Revolution and the Union; in the latter negotiation, he was chosen a commissioner on the Scottish side. Archibald, the fourth son of this gentleman, by Jane, daughter of Sir Aulay Macaulay, of Ardincaple, received a liberal education, but was bred to no profession. Without previously consulting his father, he married Barbara Cunningham, daughter of Mr Cunningham, of Gilbertfield, near Glasgow; a woman of distinguished understanding, taste, and elegance, but no fortune. Sir James, though displeased with the match, as having been entered into without his knowledge, provided for his son, by giving him a liferent of his farm of Dalquhurn; which, with an annuity, made his income about £300 a-year.

Archibald Smollett had three children. Soon after the birth of the youngest, the subject of this memoir, he died, leaving his family entirely dependent on the bounty of his father. Tobias very early gave promising indications of a lively wit and vigorous understanding, which were cultivated, not only by the fond partiality of his mother, but by a frequent intercourse with his venerable grandfather, whose long experience "in courts and great affairs," conspired with his natural inclination, in directing his attention to the study of the conduct and characters of men, and the science of life. He received the rudi-

ments of education at the neighbouring school of Dumbarton, which was then taught by Mr John Love, a distinguished grammarian, well known for his controversies with Ruddiman.

The scene of Smollett's childhood was the most favourable that could be conceived for nursing an infant poet. Abounding in all the charms of natural scenery, it hung on the very confines of that rude romantic land, where still the Highlander roamed in untamed pride, exhibiting nearly all the primitive features of a nomadic tribe. Within a few miles of Smollett's residence, under the roof of his courtly grandfather, the traveller would have lost himself in the wild domains of the Macfarlanes and Macgregors; men who even still stood out in arms against the sway of civilization, and rarely appeared beyond the threshold of the hills, except on some predatory excursion, or some wild crusade against the existing political and religious settlements of the country. Far and wide over the beautiful lowland region, inhabited by Smollett, were seen the lofty tops of Ben Lomond, Ben More, and others of the kindred of hills, whose dim and misty grandeur was calculated to awaken vivid associations, regarding the character of the country and its inhabitants. On the other hand, he beheld, rising from his native valley, the castles of Cardross and Dumbarton, in one of which the heroic Robert Bruce had spent his latter years, and breathed his last; while, in the other, Wallace had often defied his country's foes, and was at length immured as a prisoner. It was probably under the influence of this neighbourhood, that Smollett, like Burns, was, at a very early period, struck with admiration of the character of Wallace, whose adventures, reduced from the verse of Blind Harry, by Hamilton of Gilbertfield, were in every boy's hand, and formed a constant theme of fire-side and nursery stories. To such a degree arose Smollett's enthusiasm on this subject, that, ere he had quitted Dumbarton school, he wrote verses to the memory of the Scottish champion.¹

The romantic disposition of Tobias Smollett, thus nursed, made him wish to be a soldier. He was thwarted, however, in this predilection, by his grandfather, who, having already permitted the elder brother, James, to engage in a military career, thought he could better advance the prospects of the younger in a distinct course of life. Tobias was, therefore, sent to study at Glasgow college, with a view to some of the learned professions. There he was led, by the intimacy he formed with some of the medical students, to embrace the profession of physic, which he forthwith studied, along with anatomy, under the proper professors, at the same time that he served an apprenticeship in town, to a surgeon, named Gordon, whom he is supposed to have afterwards caricatured in "Roderick Random," under the title of *Potion*. His talent for satire and poignant remark, was here gradually developed, in favour of such specimens of affectation, hypocrisy, and meanness, as fell under his observation. He was also given to what are called practical jokes. One winter evening, when the streets were covered with snow, he was engaged in a snow-ball fight with some boys of his own age, among whom was the apprentice of a surgeon, whom he is supposed to have delineated under the name of *Crab* in "Roderick Random." The master of this apprentice having entered his shop, while the youth was in the heat of the engagement, rebuked him very severely on his return, for having quitted the shop. The boy excused himself, by saying that, while engaged in making up a prescription, a fellow had hit him with a snow-ball, and he had gone in pursuit of the delinquent. "A mighty probable story, truly," said the master, in an ironical tone; "I wonder how long I should stand here, before it would enter into any mortal's head to throw a snow-ball at me." Just as he pronounced these words, Smollett, who had overheard them at the door,

¹ It is also recorded that he wrote satires on his school-fellows.

gave him a most unexpected answer, by throwing a snow-ball, which hit him a very severe blow on the face, and extricated his companion.

But the early years of Smollett were devoted to better pursuits than these. While still studying medicine at the college, he composed a tragedy on the death of James I. of Scotland, styled the "Regicide;" and which, though not calculated for the stage, certainly displayed considerable ability.

While in his eighteenth year, he had the misfortune to lose his grandfather, who died without making any provision for either him or any of the rest of his father's family. He, therefore, resolved to seek his fortune in London; while his sister, having married Mr Telfer, a respectable and wealthy gentleman of Lanarkshire, was able to afford an asylum to his mother. His elder brother, James, who had before this entered the army, and reached the rank of captain, was lost at sea, off the coast of America.

The stock with which Smollett, at nineteen, entered upon London life, consisted of a small sum of money, a large assortment of letters of introduction, a mind stored with professional knowledge and general literature, a rich vein of humour, and an engaging person and address. He tried, at first, to get his tragedy brought upon the stage; but the attempt only brought him disappointment and chagrin. His friends, however, were able to procure him an appointment as surgeon's mate to a ship of the line; in which capacity he sailed, in 1741, in the unfortunate expedition to Carthage, under admiral Vernon and general Wentworth. Of this blundering affair, he published a most faithful and spirited account in his "Compendium of Voyages and Travels," seven volumes, octavo, 1756; as also, what may be styled a personal narrative, in "Roderick Random." He was so much disgusted with his situation, that, though he had the prospect of promotion, he quitted the service at Jamaica, where he resided for some time. On his return to Britain, in 1746, he was met by accounts of the barbarities exercised by the duke of Cumberland's army in the north of Scotland; which, notwithstanding that his political principles were whiggish, drew from him an indignant burst of patriotic eloquence, in the well-known ode, beginning—

Mourn, hapless, Caledonia, mourn;
Thy banished peace, thy laurels torn!

He is said to have originally finished this production in six stanzas; but some individuals having represented to him, that such an expression of sentiment might give offence, and retard his progress in life, he sat down, in a fit of still more vehement indignation, and, almost instantaneously, produced the seventh stanza, beginning—

While the warm blood bedews my veins,
And unimpaired remembrance reigns,
Remembrance of my country's fate
Within my filial breast shall beat.

An anecdote, which shows that Smollett, like many other men of distinguished genius, was

"Too fond of the right, to pursue the expedient."

The above anecdote is taken from Dr Anderson's accurate life of Smollett; but that the subject of our memoir was in London, between 1741 and 1746, is abundantly clear from the following letter, which is here, for the first time, committed to print:—

"Dear Sir,—I am this minute happy in yours, which affords me all the satisfaction of hearing from you, without the anxiety naturally flowing from its melancholy occasion; for I was informed of the decease of our late friend by a letter from Mr Gordon,² dated the day after his death.

"All those (as well as my dear Barclay) who knew the intimacy betwixt us, must imagine that no stroke of fate could make a deeper impression on my soul than that which severs me for ever from one I so entirely loved! from one who merited universal esteem; and who, had he not been cut off in the very blossom of his being, would have been an ornament to society, the pride and joy of his parents, and a most inestimable jewel to such as were attached to him, as we were, by the sacred ties of love and friendship. O my dear Ritchie, little did I think, at our last parting, we should never meet again! How many hours, days, nay, years, of enjoyment, did I promise myself on the prospect of seeing thee again! How has my heart throbb'd at thy imaginary presence! And how oft have I conversed with thee by the indulgence of a dream! Even when I wak'd to my disappointment, I flew to pleasing hope for refuge, and reflected on the probability of real gratification! But now, alas, even that forsakes me. Hope itself lies buried with its object, and remembrance strives to soothe itself by recalling the delightful scenes of past intercourse! Dear brother, this is a theme I can scarce quit; my imagination broods o'er my melancholy, and teems with endless sentiments of grief and tenderness. My weeping muse would fain pay a tribute to his manes; and, were I vain enough to think my verse would last, I would perpetuate his friendship and his virtue.

"As for the particulars you expect from me, you must wait until I shall be better informed myself: for, to tell you an extraordinary truth, I do not know, as yet, whether you had better congratulate or condole with me. I wish I was near you, that I might pour forth my heart before you, and make you judge of its dictates, and the several steps I have lately taken; in which case, I am confident you and all honest men would acquit my principles, howsoever my prudentials might be condemned. However, I have moved into the house where the late John Douglas, surgeon, died, and you may henceforth direct for Mr Smollett, surgeon, in Downing Street, West. My respects wait on Mr John Gordon and family; and please let my condolence and best wishes be made acceptable to the parents of my much lamented friend. At the same time, receive yourself the additional portion of affection he possessed in the heart of

"Your own,

"T^S. SMOLLETT."

"London, May 22nd, 1744.

"Willy Wood, who is just now drinking a glass with me, offers you his good wishes, and desires you to present his compliments to Miss Becky Bogle.

"T. S."

In 1746, Smollett published a satirical poem, in the manner of Juvenal, entitled "Adrice," and aimed at some of the chief political characters of the day. In the beginning of 1747, appeared a continuation of the same production, under the title of "Reproof," which attacked all kinds of odious characters, military cowards, army-contractors, usurers, gamblers, poetasters, &c. The keen and energetic expressions of those poems, caused the author to be respected, dreaded, and detested, the usual fate of satirists.

During his residence in Jamaica, Smollett had formed an attachment to Miss Lascelles, an elegant and accomplished young lady, of respectable connexions in that island, and who had the expectation of a fortune of £3000. He now married Miss Lascelles, and, setting up an elegant domestic establishment in

² Probably his former master at Glasgow.

London, indulged in a style of life suitable to his own generous disposition, and the taste and education of his wife. Being disappointed, however, of the expected fortune of Mrs Smollett, which cost him an expensive and vexatious lawsuit, without ever being realized, he was obliged to have recourse to his pen for subsistence, and produced his novel of "*Roderick Random*," in two volumes (1748); a work founded partly upon the incidents of his own life, though in no very decided manner. The singular humour of this work, its amazing truth to nature, and the entertainment which it is calculated to afford to minds of all orders, secured it a most extensive sale, and raised both the fortune and the fame of the author. It was followed by the publication of the "*Regicide*," which was also profitable; and in 1750, Smollett paid a visit to Paris.

In 1751, when as yet only thirty years of age, he produced "*Peregrine Pickle*," in four volumes; a more regular, and perhaps more elaborate novel than "*Roderick Random*," but hardly so entertaining, and certainly much more obnoxious than its predecessor, to the charge of licentiousness and coarseness, in some of its passages. It is somewhat remarkable, that neither in this novel, nor in "*Roderick Random*," does he make his hero a perfect gentleman: in both characters, the mixture of selfishness and want of principle, is very great. It is further remarkable, that, while the humour of the two works is beyond all parallel in the English language, there is hardly a single dash of pathos, or even of pure and virtuous feeling. It must be concluded, indeed, from these and all the other productions of Smollett, that though himself an honourable and generous man, he cherished no notions of high and abstract goodness: the fidelity and kindness of Strap and Bowling, though sometimes touching, are too evidently referable to the simplicity of their respective classes, to countervail against our observations. The fine passage, also, in *Peregrine Pickle*, where the exiled jacobites bewail from the quay of Boulogne, the land they can still see, but must never again tread, is only an accidental narration of a real anecdote. The chief person alluded to, was a Mr Hunter, of Burnside, whom Smollett had met at Boulogne, under the circumstances described, when engaged in his French tour.

After a vain attempt to get into practice as a physician—for which purpose he published a medical pamphlet, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Physic—he assumed the character of an author by profession, and retired to a small house at Chelsea, where he lived for some years. The unmerciful manner in which he had lashed the ministry, precluded all court patronage, even if it had been the fashion of the court of George II. to extend it. He depended solely on the booksellers, for whom he wrought in the various departments of compilations, translations, criticisms, and miscellaneous essays. In 1753, he produced his novel, entitled "*The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*;" a work which appears to be founded upon a mistake both in morals and metaphysics. To exhibit the details of a life spent in one uninterrupted series of base and fraudulent transactions, cannot be favourable to the morals of the world in any case; but the greatest objection is that such a work is a monstrosity, because no such character ever existed or can exist. In every view of the case it were better for the literary and moral reputation of Smollett, that this work had never been written. In the beginning of 1755, he published his translation of *Don Quixote*, which, though esteemed less faithful than others previously given to the English public, conveys more perfectly, because more freely, the humour of the author. This work was very profitable to the translator.

Smollett now revisited his native country for the first time since he had first left it. On arriving at Scotston, in Peeblesshire where his mother resided

with her daughter, Mrs Telfer, it was arranged that he should be introduced to the old lady as a gentleman from the West Indies, who was intimately acquainted with her son. The better to support his assumed character, he endeavoured to preserve a very serious countenance, approaching to a frown; but while his mother's eyes were rivetted with the instinct of affection upon his countenance, he could not refrain from smiling: she immediately sprang from her chair, and, throwing her arms around his neck, exclaimed "Ah! my son, my son!" She afterwards told him that, if he had kept his austere looks and continued to *gloom*, she might have perhaps been deceived; but "your old roguish smile," she added, "betrayed you at once."

After a little tour through the circle of his Scottish acquaintance, he returned to London, and commenced in 1756, the "Critical Review," which professed to maintain Tory principles against the Whig work called the Monthly Review. His contributions to this periodical were numerous and excellent, though sometimes disgraced by intemperance of language. He soon after published his large collection of *Voyages* formerly alluded to.

Passing over a farce, entitled the "Reprisal," which was acted with success in 1757, Smollett's next work was his "Complete History of England," deduced from the descent of Julius Cæsar, to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, which appeared in 1759 in 4 vols., 4to. As only a part of Hume's History had hitherto appeared, this work was the first of the kind, in which any large share of ability or any considerable elegance of composition had been displayed. The judgments of the writer upon political characters and transactions are by no means in the most popular strain, nor are they even consistent; but, nevertheless, the spirit and sprightliness of the narrative secured it approbation. It met with so extensive a sale, that, with the continuation afterwards published in two similar quarto volumes, it brought him two thousand pounds, while half as much was made by the bookseller to whom he sold the Continuation, from a mere transference of the copyright of that part of the work. It has been declared, and never contradicted, that the four quarto volumes, embracing a period of thirteen hundred years, were composed and finished for the press in fourteen months; an effort to which nothing but the greatest abilities, and the most vigorous application, could have been equal. The shortness of time bestowed on the "Complete History of England," joined to the merit of the performance, and the consideration of the infinite pains and perseverance it must have cost him to form and digest a proper plan, compile materials, compare different accounts, collate authorities, and compose, polish, and finish the work, will make it be regarded as one of the most striking instances of facility in writing that is to be found in literary history. The work, in its entire shape, has long been superseded; but it has always been customary to supply the defect of Hume's work with a continuation from Smollett, embracing the period between the Revolution and the Accession of George III.

The one grand defect of Smollett's character was his propensity to satire. According to the report of an early companion, his conversation in company was a continued string of epigrammatic sarcasms against one or other of those present; a practice so disagreeable that no degree of talent could excuse it. When he wrote satirically, it was generally in reference to something mean, cowardly, selfish, or otherwise odious to his own upright and generous feelings. It did not occur to him—nor has it properly been considered either by satirists or those who delight in satire—that for a private individual to set himself up in judgment upon a fellow being, and, without examining any evidence or hearing any defence, to condemn him at once and irremediably to the pillory of the press, is an invasion of the rights of the subjects just as wicked, as it

would be to take away from an ordinary culprit the trial by jury, and the privilege of being heard by counsel. Smollett was in the habit of indulging his propensity very frequently in the Critical Review, and, as a natural result of his warm and hasty temper, he often censured and ridiculed without a proper cause. Hence, he was perpetually subject to counter assaults from provoked authors, and occasionally to legal prosecutions, the effect of which was so severe that he is found, September 23, 1758, describing himself to Dr Moore, as sick of both praise and blame, and praying to his God that circumstances might permit him to consign his pen to oblivion! In the end of this year, in consequence of some severe expressions he had used in the Review regarding admiral Knowles, a prosecution was raised against the printer; chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining the author of the offensive article, from whom, in the event of his proving a gentleman, the complainant threatened to demand the usual satisfaction. After every attempt to soften admiral Knowles had failed, Smollett came boldly forward and screened the printer by avowing himself the author of the article, and offering any satisfaction that might be required. Knowles, who had sailed as a captain in the expedition to Carthage, probably thought it beneath him to fight a man who had been a surgeon's mate in the same fleet, even though that surgeon's mate boasted of some good Caledonian blood, and was besides booked for immortality in the scrolls of fame. The penalty paid by Smollett for his rashness was a fine of one hundred pounds and an imprisonment for three months in the King's Bench prison. Yet, in this misfortune, he was not without consolation. His conduct was generally pronounced very magnanimous, and his friends continued to visit him in prison the same as in his neat villa at Chelsea.

To beguile the tedium of confinement, he wrote a fantastic novel, entitled "The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves," which appeared in detached portions through the successive numbers of the British Magazine for 1760 and 1761. This is deservedly ranked among the least happy of Smollett's performances. The drollery entirely lies in the adventures of a crazy English gentleman, who sets out armed cap-a-pie, in the character of a knight-errant, and roams through modern England, to attack vice wherever it can be found, to protect defenceless virtue, and remedy the evils which the law cannot reach. While some amusement is afforded by the contrast of such a character with the modern common-place beings amongst whom he moves, it is only the imperfect amusement yielded by the exhibition of natural madness: the adventures of an imaginary sovereign broken loose from a mad house could hardly be less drollery entertaining. Smollett, in the haste with which he wrote his novel, has evidently proceeded upon the idea of an English Don Quixote; without recollecting that the work of the illustrious Cervantes had a rational aim, in proposing to counteract the rage of the Spanish people for tales of knightly adventure. His own work, having no such object, labours under the imputation of being an imitation, without any countervailing advantage. Yet, strange to say, such was the *prestige* of Smollett's name and example, that the work not only sold to a great extent as a separate work, but was followed by many sub-imitations, such as the Spiritual Quixote, the Amicable Quixote, the Female Quixote, &c.

In 1760, Smollett became engaged, with other literary adventurers, in a large and important work, which was finished in 1764, in 42 volumes, under the title of "The Modern Part of an Universal History." He is supposed to have contributed the histories of France, Italy, and Germany, to this work, and to have received altogether, for his share of the labour, no less a sum than £1575. Throughout the same period, he was engaged in his "Continuation of the His-

tory of England, from 1748 to 1765," which first appeared in five successive octavo volumes, and finally in 2 vols., 4to, 1766. It has been already mentioned that, for this work, he is supposed to have received such a price as enabled the purchaser to sell it to a bookseller at a profit of one thousand pounds.

Smollett had been originally a Whig, but he gradually became something very like a Tory. A diffusive philanthropy, by which he was inspired, with perhaps some impressions from early education, had made him the first; a disgust at the conduct of some of his party appears to have inclined him to the second. The accession of a Scottish prime minister in the earl of Bute, as it excited much opposition among the English, so it attracted a proportionate degree of support from the Scotch, who now very generally became adherents of the government, from a motive of nationality, without regard to their former political sentiments. Smollett went into this enthusiasm, and on the very day of the earl of Bute's elevation, May 29th, 1762, he started a newspaper entitled "*The Briton*," in which he laboured to break down the prejudices of the English against a Scottish premier, and undertook the defence of the new administration upon its own merits. Within a week after this event, an opposition journal was started by Wilkes, with whom Smollett had previously lived on the most intimate terms of friendship, but who now became his political antagonist. *The North Briton*, (so was this paper called,) supported by the overpowering national feelings of England, very soon proved too much for its rival; and on the 12th February, 1763, Smollett abandoned the publication. He did not shine as a party writer, wanting that coolness which is necessary in forming replies and repartees to all the paragraphs with which he was assailed: like the most of professed satirists, he could endure nothing so ill as satire. Lord Bute, who resigned in the April following, is said to have never sufficiently acknowledged the services of Smollett.

Among the publications with which Smollett was connected about this time, were, a translation of the works of Voltaire in twenty-seven volumes, and a work in eight volumes, entitled "*The Present State of all Nations*." In the first his name was associated with that of the Rev. T. Francklin, translator of Sophocles; but in neither is it probable that much was written by his own hand.

He had now for many years prosecuted the sedentary and laborious employment of an author by profession. Though little more than forty years of age, and possessed originally of a most robust frame, he began to suffer from ill health. His life, which ought to have been rendered comfortable by the large sums he procured for his works, was embittered by "the stings and arrows" which his own satirical disposition had caused to be directed against himself, and by the loss of friends, which he was perpetually suffering, either from that cause, or from political differences. To add to his other miseries, he had the misfortune at this time to lose his daughter and only child, Elizabeth, a girl of fifteen, whose amiable disposition and elegant accomplishments had become the solace of his life, and promised to be in future a still more precious blessing. Under this accumulation of distresses, he was prevailed upon by his wife to seek consolation in travel; and accordingly, in June, 1763, he went abroad, and continued in France about two years.

In the course of his travels, Smollett seems to have laboured under a constant fit of ill humour, the result of morbid feelings, and a distempered bodily system. This is amply visible in the work which he published on his return, entitled, "*Travels through France and Italy*," 2 vols. 8vo., of which two passages may be here extracted.

"With respect to the famous Venus Pontia, commonly called *de Medicis*, I believe I ought to be entirely silent, or at least conceal my real sentiments, which will otherwise appear equally absurd and presumptuous. It must be want of taste that prevents my feeling that enthusiastic admiration with which others are inspired at sight of this statue. I cannot help thinking there is no beauty in the features of Venus, and that the attitude is awkward and out of character."

"I was much disappointed at sight of the Pantheon, which, after all that has been said of it, looks like a huge cock-pit, open at the top."

These observations upon works of art that had been the subject of universal admiration for centuries, could not be attributed to an original and native want of taste in such a man as Smollett: they must therefore be ascribed altogether to the distempered light which disease threw around every object that claimed his attention. The morose style of his "*Travels*" called forth universal remark; but nothing excited more surprise than what he had said regarding Venus and the Pantheon. His observations upon these subjects drew down upon him the following sarcastic notice from Sterne.

"The learned Smelfungus travelled from Boulogne to Paris—from Paris to Rome—and so on; but he set out with the spleen and the jaundice, and every object he passed by was discoloured and distorted. He wrote an account of them, but it was nothing but an account of his miserable feelings; I met Smelfungus in the grand portico of the Pantheon; he was just coming out of it; 'It is nothing but a huge cock-pit,' said he: 'I wish you had said nothing worse of the Venus Medicis,' I replied; for, in passing through Florence, I had heard he had fallen foul upon the goddess, and used her worse than a common strumpet, without the least provocation in nature. I popped upon Smelfungus again at Turin, in his return home, and a sad and sorrowful tale of adventures he had to tell, wherein he spoke of moving accidents by flood and field, and of the cannibals which each other eat: the Anthropophagi. He had been flayed alive, and bedeviled, and worse used than St Bartholomew, at every stage he had come at. 'I'll tell it,' said Smelfungus, 'to the world.' 'You had better tell it,' said I, 'to your physician.'"³

A continental tour having failed to restore health and spirits, he now resolved to try the effect of native air and native scenery. About the beginning of June, 1766, he arrived in Edinburgh, where he passed some time with his mother, who retained, at an advanced age, a strong understanding, and an uncommon share of humour, and whom he loved with all the warmth of filial affection.⁴ He then proceeded with his sister, Mrs Telfer, and his nephew, a young officer in the army, to Glasgow; whence, after a brief stay, they went, accompanied by Dr Moore, to Cameron, the residence of his cousin, Mr Smollett, of Bonhill, on the banks of Lochlomond. During the whole time of his stay, he was afflicted with severe rheumatic pains, and with a neglected ulcer in his arm, which almost unfitted him for enjoying society. He afterwards commemorated the impressions, and some of the adventures which he experienced in this tour, in his last and best novel, "*Humphrey Clinker*," which was published in 1771, while he resided in Italy. In the account which he gives in this novel of some branches of Edinburgh society, he had real characters and real customs in his eye. The "*Mr M——*," at whose house his characters are represented as having seen a *haggis* at table, was Mr Mitchelson, a writer to the signet, connected with the family of Sir Walter Scott. The "*beautiful Miss E——*

³ Sentimental Journey, vol. i.

⁴ During his residence in Edinburgh, he lived in his mother's house, or rather his sister's, at the head of St John Street, in the Canongate.

R——," whom Jerry Melford signalizes at a ball, was Miss Eleonora Renton, daughter of John Renton, Esq. of Lamerton, by lady Susan, daughter of Alexander, ninth earl of Eglintoun. Her eldest sister became the wife of Mr Telfer, nephew of Smollett, and communicated the name of Renton to a large manufacturing village, now situated at Dalquhurn, the birth-place of the novelist. The young lady whose elegant person attracted the notice of Smollett in 1766, was the late dowager Mrs Sharpe of Hoddam, and mother of the ingenious historical antiquary, the late Mr Charles Kilpatrick Sharpe.⁵

It may, perhaps, surprise those who have enjoyed the exquisite humour of the Scottish scenes in Humphrey Clinker, that, during the whole tour which he has commemorated under that fictitious shape, he suffered so much pain from his arm, as to be, in some measure, *mentally affected*: he acknowledges himself, that, from April till November, 1766, he had a kind of *coma vigil*; and that his Scottish journey, therefore, which ended in August, "produced only misery and disgust."⁶

He spent the winter of 1766-7 in Bath, where he was so fortunate as to get quit of his ulcer, and recover a considerable portion of his original health. In 1760, he published his "Adventures of an Atom," two vols. 12mo; a political romance, or *jeu d'esprit*, exhibiting, under Japanese names, the characters and conduct of the leaders of party, from the commencement of the French war, in 1756, to the dissolution of lord Chatham's administration, in 1767-8. Soon afterwards, his ailments having recurred with violence, he was recommended to try once more the genial climate of Italy; but, his circumstances being inadequate to the expense of the journey, and of his remaining free from all care, but what concerned his health, application was made to obtain for him the office of consul at Nice, Naples, or Leghorn. This application was unsuccessful; because the government, as usual, could not spare any patronage, except for its friends. Smollett had, therefore, to set out for Italy, in 1770, under circumstances far from easy, and which must have, no doubt, materially increased his personal distress. He chose for his residence a cottage near Leghorn, situated on a mountain side, overlooking the sea, and surrounded by some of the fairest scenery in Tuscany. While residing here, he published, in 1771, "The Adventures of Humphrey Clinker," in which his own character, as it appeared in later life, under the pressure of bodily disease, is delineated in the person of Matthew Bramble. During the summer of 1774, he declined very rapidly; and at length, on the 21st of October, death put a period to his sufferings.

Smollett, who thus died prematurely in the fifty-first year of his age, and the bloom of his mental faculties, was tall and handsome, with a most prepossessing carriage and address, and all the marks and manners of a gentleman. His character, laying aside the unhappy propensity to sarcasm and epigram, was of an elevated and generous cast, humane and benevolent; and he only practised virtue too rigorously, and abhorred vice too vehemently, for his own comfort, in a world of inferior morality. An irritable and impatient temper, and a proud, improvident disposition, were his greatest, and almost his only failings.

⁵ The adventures of Lesmahago among the Indians, were perhaps suggested by the real story of a Lieutenant Kennedy, who, in the seven years' war, married an Indian squaw, and was made a king by her tribe. "General Abercromby gave him a party of Highlanders," says a newspaper of the day, "joined with a party of Indians, to go A-SCALPING, in which he had some success." He had learned the language; paints, and dresses like an Indian; and it is thought will be of service by his new alliance. His wife goes with him, and carries his provisions on her back." Such was the enlightened warfare carried on in those times, notwithstanding the eloquent denunciations of a Chatham!

⁶ Letter to Dr Moore.

Of his genius, as a delineator of human character, his novels form an imperishable monument, though certainly not undeformed by considerable impurity of taste. So long as his "Ode to Leven Water," and his "Ode to Independence," exist, he can never fail to be admired as a poet.

Three years after Smollett's death, a round column, of the Tuscan order, with an urn on its entablature, was erected to his memory, near the house in which he was born, by his cousin, Mr Smollett, of Bonhill, who is said to have never manifested any kindness towards him while he was alive. For this memorial, an inscription was furnished by the united labours of professor George Stuart of Edinburgh, Mr Ramsay of Ochertyre, and Dr Samuel Johnson. Lord Kames also wrote an English epitaph, which was lost to the learned world, till it appeared in the work, entitled "Traditions of Edinburgh." A plainer monument was erected over Smollett's grave at Leghorn, by his friend and countryman, Dr Armstrong, who added a very elegant inscription.

The widow of Smollett—the *Narcissa* of "Roderick Random"—was left, a poor widow in a foreign land. The small remains of her husband's fortune had been settled upon her, under the trust of Mr Graham of Gartmore, and Mr Bontine, his tried and faithful friends. The sum, however, was so little, that this elegant woman was soon involved in great distress. It must have added not a little to the poignancy of Mrs Smollett's feelings, that, had her husband lived a few years longer, he would have succeeded his cousin of Bonhill, as heir of entail, in the possession of an estate of a thousand a-year, besides, perhaps, the private wealth of that individual, worth as much more; all of which descended to his sister, Mrs Telfer. It is alleged by Dr Anderson, that neither Mr Smollett nor Mrs Telfer ever thought of extending any relief to the widow of their distinguished relative, the man whose genius has consecrated their family name to all posterity. It is known, however, that Mr Smollett, almost immediately after his cousin's death, gave a considerable sum to the widow, under pretence of purchasing her husband's books, few of which ever reached the purchaser. We certainly cannot but regret, that Mrs Telfer afterwards permitted an act of public charity to be resorted to for the relief of her kinswoman. On the 3rd of March, 1784, probably through the exertions of Mr Graham of Gartmore, a benefit was procured for her in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh; on which occasion, the play of *Venice Preserved* was acted, with a prologue written by Mr Graham. The money, amounting, with private donations, to £366, was remitted to Italy; and this was all that Scotland ever sacrificed for the sake of one of the most illustrious of her sons.

SOMERVILLE, (DR) THOMAS, an eminent historian, was born at Hawick, in Roxburghshire, in the spring of 1741.¹ By the early death of his father, who was minister of the parish of Hawick, he was left an orphan, along with two sisters, his mother having predeceased her husband. His father left the care of his early education to the reverend Mr Cranstoun of Ancrum, and another member of the presbytery of Jedburgh, whose kindness and attention are evidenced by the affection afterwards exhibited towards them by their pupil. Having obtained the education derivable from a provincial grammar school, he became a student in the university of Edinburgh. He is said not to have exhibited in his acquirements the precocity of talent generally recorded of men who have become eminent in any branch of literature; and indeed the branch in which he distinguished himself, when qualified by the manner in which he

¹ Memoir in the Annual Obituary for 1831. As this memoir is written by a personal friend of Dr Somerville, and is both better written, and more liberal in its views, than such productions generally happen to be, we shall take the liberty of making some quotations from it.

treated it, is more dependent on a general development of sound ordinary abilities, than on the existence of that genius which shines before the judgment is matured. Nothing seems to be known of his early habits, except his having fallen from a horse, and hurt his head; a circumstance which, not unnaturally, gave him a partiality for pedestrian exercises during the remainder of his life. The accident happened in Edinburgh, close to the residence of the reverend Mr Bain, an eminent clergyman of the Relief church. "In his family the patient was attended for several months, with a kindness and humanity which made a lasting impression on his mind. Often has the present writer," continues the memoir above referred to, "heard him express the pleasure and improvement he had reaped from the enlightened conversation of his worthy host, during a long and tedious convalescence." Somerville was licensed as a preacher, about the year 1762. He shortly after this event returned to Roxburghshire, and became tutor to the son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, afterwards lord Minto, and governor-general of India. In 1767, Sir Gilbert presented him with the living of Minto; and in 1772, the same friend procured his promotion to the more lucrative living of Jedburgh. At that period, opposition to the right of patronage in Scotland was still warm in the feelings of the people, if it might not be said to have revived. There is no doubt that the right was well exercised, and in the midst of so much scrutiny and opposition, it would have been singular had it not been so; but the very circumstance which produced the election of such men as Mr Somerville, was naturally the cause of objection to the persons chosen: and the subject of our memoir entered on his charge in direct opposition to a great majority of his parishioners. It may be predicated of a man of good feeling and sense, that he would hesitate to be the teacher of the conscience of persons who contemned and disliked him; but it was part of Somerville's political opinion to think otherwise; and biography affords many instances in which persons so swayed have been excellent men, and might have despised the action, had it been set before them divested of its political bearings. The appointment was followed by repeated protests, but its legality was confirmed. "Whatever," says the memoir, "might be the cause of the reverend presentee's extreme unpopularity,—whatever objections were alleged against the orthodoxy of his creed, or his mode of public teaching,—his most strenuous opponents were compelled to admit the correctness of his moral character; and several of the most discontented having seceded to the *relief meeting*, tranquillity was gradually restored." Somerville commenced authorship by a pamphlet, entitled "Candid thoughts on American Independence," which appeared soon after the commencement of the American war. Like Campbell, and other members of the church of Scotland, he maintained those opinions against the claims of the colonists, which were so much opposed to the principles on which the church of Scotland struggled into existence, however much they might accord with those of its pastors after it was firmly established. In 1792, appeared his "History of Political Transactions, and of Parties, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Death of King William." In his treatment of this subject, he showed himself a member of that class of politicians, whose doctrines are generally founded on either or both of two opinions, connected with the times. 1st, A dislike of popery, and all persons connected with it; and, consequently, a love of all measures termed protestant: secondly, An affection for the state of things existing at the period of writing, and such a respect for the persons, who, by operating great changes, have brought about that existing state, as the writer would have been the last person to feel, when the change was about to be made. Hence Somerville is, on all occasions, not only the admirer, but the vindicator of William, and a supporter of what are called "the principles of the

Revolution," or those of the future permanency of the country, in the position in which the Revolution left it. Owing to the other eminent histories of the same period, this work is not so valuable as the author's History of Queen Anne, which appeared in 1798, with the title, "The History of Great Britain, during the Reign of Queen Anne; with a Dissertation concerning the Danger of the Protestant Succession: and an Appendix, containing Original Papers." This work was a valuable accession to the literature of the period at which it was published; and it must still be allowed to be the most ample and accurate, if not also the most impartial, history of the times of which it treats. It is certainly above the average of historical works: there is nothing offensive or affected in the style—vices very common among those who were secondary to the three great historians of the last century—it is expressive and plain, and, in many cases, elegant. The reflections, if not those of a profound philosopher, show a well thinking mind; and, although breathing party feeling, never show violent prejudice. That this, however, should be the best history of so remarkable an age, is to be regretted, especially since the late discovery of many documents, illustrative of its dark transactions. A change more interesting than that of a palpable revolution, in the gradual passage from prerogative to influence, forms a subject for a writer more conversant with constitutional subjects, and better able to discuss them in all their bearings, than Dr Somerville, who is in general a better narrator of the intrigues of individual politicians, and the diplomatic intercourse of nations, than a student of laws and governments, and their effects on society. In discussing the question of the danger of the protestant succession, the author professes, as writing at a period when the subject is not looked on with party views, not to be actuated by them. It is very doubtful whether he was correct in the supposition, either as it refers to his own feelings, or to those of the period; and, independently of the information acquired since Somerville wrote, it will perhaps hardly be denied, that there was then enough known to show, from legitimate deduction, that what was called "the protestant succession," actually was in danger, not only from the machinations of Bolingbroke, and the zeal of the jacobites, but from the personal feelings of the queen. In the interval between the production of his two great historical works, (1793,) he wrote a pamphlet, "On the Constitution and State of Great Britain." About the same time, he was chosen one of the chaplains in ordinary to his majesty for Scotland, and elected a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He also received the degree of doctor of divinity from the university of Edinburgh, at what period of his life we are not aware. At the period of the publication of his "History of Queen Anne," he visited London, and presented a copy of his work to the king, at an introduction at St James's. A whimsical circumstance happened to him during his visit, thus told by his biographer:—"On the day subsequent to his arrival, while in the lobby of the house of commons, Dr Somerville was arrested, and taken to Bow street, on a charge of felony. Thunderstruck, and utterly incapable of accounting for the strange predicament in which he was placed, our bewildered divine could scarcely avail himself of the polite advice of the magistrate, to apprise his friends of the circumstance. Meanwhile, the late lord Melville, then Sir Henry Dundas, who had witnessed his seizure, entered the office, and having satisfied the magistrate of the respectability of his countryman, indulged in a hearty laugh at his expense. A notorious and specious swindler had been, it should seem, a passenger on board the packet in which Dr Somerville came to London; and being seen in the company of this man on their landing, led to his arrest as an accomplice. This anecdote the writer has often heard Dr Somerville relate with much pleasantry."

Besides his political and historical works, Dr Somerville wrote "Two Sermons communicated to the Scotch Preacher;" "A Collection of Sermons," published in 1815; and a sermon "On the Nature and Obligation of an Oath," which appeared in the "Scottish Pulpit." He died, after a few days' illness, at Jedburgh, on the 16th May, 1830, at the good old age of ninety, and in the sixty-fourth year of his ministry. His faculties were fresh to the last; and on the Sunday previous to his death, he had preached, and administered the sacrament. Of his opinions and domestic character, the following paragraphs from the memoir above referred to, are descriptive. "Political science having long been the favourite study of Dr Somerville, it may readily be supposed that he took a deep interest in all that concerned the French Revolution. But he was not one of those who hailed the dawn of liberty in that enslaved and benighted land; on the contrary, he beheld it as the harbinger of evil to the whole of civilized Europe; while, from the dissensions to which this event gave rise in his own country, he augured the downfall of that constitution, in church and state, which he had so ably vindicated in his writings, and which he regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of perfection. An alarmist on principle, he involved in one sweeping condemnation, all who entertained views different from his own on this subject; and the wild impracticable theorist—the temperate and philosophical advocate for reform—were with him equally objects of reprobation." * * * "Devoted through a long life to the pursuits of literature, Dr Somerville numbered among his friends many of the eminent scholars and divines of his native Scotland; and, during his occasional visits to the British metropolis, he was introduced to several of the distinguished literati of the south. Superior to the mean jealousy and petty envy, which too often prevail among the votaries of science and learning, Dr Somerville was at all times, and on every occasion, eager to do justice to the talents and merits of his gifted contemporaries. No man could be more enthusiastically alive to the transcendent genius of Burns, or more feelingly deplore the moral aberrations of that inspired bard. In the dark hour of John Logan's eventful life, he stretched towards him the supporting hand of friendship, and shielded him, in some measure, from the attacks of bigotry and illiberality, by the weight and influence of his own pure and unimpeachable character. A gold-headed cane, the parting gift of the grateful poet, when he bade a lasting adieu to Scotland, Dr Somerville highly prized, and always carried in his hand when walking."

SPOTSWOOD, JOHN, superintendent of Lothian, was descended of the ancient Merse family of Spotswood of that ilk, and was born in the year 1510. His father, William Spotswood, was killed at the battle of Flodden, leaving him an orphan at little more than three years of age. The place at which he was educated, and the person who taught him in his early years, are equally unknown to us. We have, indeed, discovered no further notice of him, till 1534, (June 27,) when, at the very late age of four and twenty, he was entered a student in the university of Glasgow. There was perhaps, however, some peculiarity in his case, for he became bachelor in the very next year (February 8, 1535); a circumstance which we can only account for, on the supposition that he had either made very remarkable proficiency in his studies, or attended some of the other universities previously. Spotswood, it is believed, intended to prosecute the study of divinity; but he became disgusted with the cruelty of the catholic clergy, manifested most probably in the condemnation of Russell and Kennedy, who were burned for heresy at Glasgow, about 1538. In that year, he left his native country, apparently horrified at the spectacle he had witnessed, and at other instances of barbarity which he must have heard of, and retired into England. At London, he became acquainted with archbishop Cranmer, to

whose kindness and encouragement many of our countrymen were indebted; and from whose eagerness in the dissemination of truth, the benefit derived by Scotland cannot be easily estimated. Mr Spotswood remained in the south for nearly five years, that is, from 1538 till 1543, when Henry VIII. restored the prisoners taken at the disgraceful rout of Solway Moss. He then returned to Scotland, in company with the earl of Glencairn, a nobleman well known for his attachment to protestant principles, and resided with him for several years. Through that nobleman, he became acquainted with the earl of Lennox, and was by him employed in a private negociation with the English court, in 1544. After residing there for some months, he returned to Scotland; but little is known respecting him for some years following. In 1548, he was presented to the parsonage of Calder, by Sir James Sandelands; and, as a constant residence at his cure was not required, he lived for about ten years with that gentleman, and with lord James Stewart, then prior of St Andrews, and afterwards better known as The Regent Murray. When commissioners were appointed by parliament, in 1558, to be present at the marriage of the young queen of Scotland to the dauphin of France, lord James was included in the number, and Spotswood accompanied him. Luckily, both returned in safety from this expedition, so fatal to many of their companions.

On the establishment of the Reformation, the first care of the protestant party, was to distribute the very few ministers who held their sentiments, into different parts of the country. The scarcity of qualified persons, gave rise to some temporary arrangements, which were, however, afterwards abandoned, when the circumstances which produced them ceased to exist. One of these was, the establishment of superintendents over different districts,—an office which has been brought forward, with but little justice, we think, by some writers, to prove that the constitution of the Scottish church was originally episcopalian. Mr Spotswood had the honour of being first elected, having been appointed to the oversight of the district of Lothian, in March, 1560-1. The proceedings on this occasion were conducted by John Knox; and the pledges required by that zealous reformer must have impressed both the superintendent and the people, with a deep sense of the importance of his office, while it could not fail to be favourably contrasted with the system which had recently been abolished.

The proceedings of the church courts, after the stimulus created by the events immediately connected with the Reformation had somewhat subsided, could not be supposed to excite much interest in the mind of a general reader, unless we should enter into much more minute particulars than our limits permit. If we cannot, therefore, excite very deeply our reader's sympathies, we shall not tax his patience more than is necessary, to give a very brief outline of the more important transactions with which Mr Spotswood's name is connected.

Mr Spotswood appears to have retained the charge of his flock at Calder after he became superintendent of Lothian; but it cannot be supposed that the variety and extent of his duties permitted anything more than a very loose and occasional attention to their interests. Of this the parishioners complained more than once to the General Assembly, but without success; the means of supporting a superintendent being quite inadequate without the benefice of a parish. The mere visitation of a district seems to have been but a part of the labours of a superintendent: there were many occasions on which these officials were called upon to expend their time in behalf of the general interests of the church. Spotswood appears to have been frequently deputed by the General Assembly to confer with Queen Mary, with whom he was a favourite, upon the important subject of an improvement in the provision for their maintenance. On the in-

teresting occasion of the birth of her son, in June, 1566, the General Assembly sent him "to testify their gladness for the prince's birth, and to desire he might be baptized according to the form used in the Reformed church." He did not succeed in obtaining a favourable, or indeed any, reply to the latter part of his commission, but the manner in which he conducted himself obtained for him a most gracious reception. Deeply sensible how intimately the nation's welfare was connected with the education of the child, he took him in his arms, and falling on his knees, implored for him the Divine blessing and protection. This exhibition of unaffected piety was well calculated to touch the finest feelings of the soul. It was listened to with reverential attention by the queen, and procured for him the respect and reverence of the prince in his maturer years.

But Mr Spotswood's feelings towards the queen were soon to undergo a most painful change. He was too conscientious to sacrifice his principles for the favour of a queen, and too sensible of the tendencies of her subsequent conduct, and that of her party, to neglect to warn the people over whom he had the spiritual oversight. No sooner had Mary escaped from Lochleven castle, and prepared for hostilities, than, under the liveliest convictions of the responsibility of the watchman "that seeth the sword coming and doth not blow th^e trumpet," he addressed a solemn admonition to the people within his diocese, warned the unsettled,—and exhorted those who had "communicated with her odious impietys" to consider their fearful defection from God, and by public confession of their guilt and folly, to testify their unfeigned repentance.

After this period there is hardly a single fact recorded respecting Mr Spotswood of general interest. His disposition, as well as his feeble state of health, disposed him to retirement, and he seems to have preferred attending to his duties as a clergyman, and thus giving an example of the peaceful doctrines which the Christian religion inculcates, to taking part with either of the factions in the struggle which succeeded. Yet, in the performance of these duties he did not come up to the expectations of some of the more zealous ministers within his district. We find him accused of "slacknes in visitation of Kirks" at the General Assemblies on several occasions. On some of these, the accusation, if it is merely intended to assert that he had not visited the whole churches, does not seem to have been made without ground; nor will his apparent negligence be considered wonderful when we mention that the district of Lothian comprehended the metropolis, Stirling, Berwick, Linlithgow, and other considerable towns; and that, of course, it contained a greater number of churches than any other. Spotswood's health had also become impaired, and we must add to this list of extenuating circumstances, that for at least nine years previous to 1580, he had received no emolument in consideration of his labours. In that year, however, he obtained (December 16th,) a pension for himself and his second son for three years of £45, 9s. 6d., besides an allowance of grain for "the thankfull service done to his hienes and his predecessouris," and this grant was renewed, November 26, 1583, for five years; but he did not live to enjoy its full benefit. He died, December 5, 1585, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, leaving by his wife, Beatrix Crichton, two sons, John and James, both of whom attained a high rank in the Episcopal church, and one daughter. "He was a man," says his son, "well esteemed for his piety and wisdom, loving and beloved of all persons, charitable to the poor, and careful above all things to give no man offence."

The same writer has represented him as having in his last years changed his sentiments respecting church government, and as having become an Episcopalian; but this assertion carries along with it the suspicion that the archbishop

was more anxious to obtain for his own conduct a partial sanction in his father's opinions than to represent them as they really stood.

We are not aware that Mr Spotswood is the author of any distinct or individual work. Such papers as he may have written, arising out of the business of the church courts, certainly do not deserve that name.¹

SPOTSWOOD, JOHN, archbishop of St Andrews, and author of "The History of the Church and State of Scotland," was one of the two sons of the subject of the preceding article. He was born in the year 1565, while his father, besides serving as parish minister at Calder, acted as superintendent of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale. Being a child of "pregnant wit, great spirit, and good memory," he was early taught his letters, and sent to the university of Glasgow, of which Andrew Melville was at that time principal. He studied languages and philosophy under James Melville, and divinity under his more celebrated uncle; but the opinions of these men respecting church government seem to have made no impression on their pupil. At the early age of sixteen he took his degrees, and when only about twenty, he was appointed to succeed his father in the church of Calder. In the various agitating disputes between king James and the majority of the Scottish clergy respecting the settlement of the church, the gentle and courtly character of Spotswood induced him to lean to the views espoused by the king, which were in favour of a moderate episcopacy, supposed to be more suitable than presbytery to the genius of a monarchical government.

In 1601, the parson of Calder was selected by the court to accompany the duke of Lennox as chaplain, on his embassy to Henry IV.; and it is said by the presbyterian historians, that he marked the looseness of his principles on this occasion, by attending mass in France, along with his principal. In returning through England, Spotswood had an interview with queen Elizabeth. When James proceeded to London in 1603, Spotswood was one of five untitled clergymen whom he selected to accompany him. On reaching Burleigh house, the king received intelligence of the decease of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who had lived in France since the Reformation; and he immediately nominated Spotswood to the vacant see. The new archbishop was at the same time directed to return to Scotland, in order to accompany the queen on her journey to London, and to act as her eleemosynar or almoner; an office, his biographer remarks, "which could not confidently be credited but to clean hands and an uncorrupt heart, such as his really was."

Holding as he did the second episcopal dignity in the kingdom, Spotswood naturally lent himself with great willingness to aid the policy of the king for the gradual reconstruction of that system in the kingdom. The measures adopted were cautious and prudent, but nevertheless highly unpopular; and for several years the archbishop of Glasgow was obliged to appear obedient to the ordinary church courts. At length, in 1610, the power of the bishops *ex jure postliminii* was restored; and the subject of this memoir, with the bishops of Brechin and Galloway, repaired to London, to receive the solemnities of consecration, which were conferred upon them by the bishops of London, Bath, and Ely. About the same time, Spotswood became the head of one of the two courts of High Commission erected by James in Scotland for the trial of offences against the church. He had previously, in 1609, been appointed an extraordinary lord of session, in accordance with the policy adopted by the king for giving influence and dignity to his ecclesiastical office, though it after-

¹ Abridged from a memoir of Mr John Spotswood, in Wodrow's Biographical Collections, printed by the Maitland Club.

wards was manifest that the holding of lay offices by the bishops injured the interests of their church.

In the month of October, 1614, Spotswood apprehended John Ogilvie, a jesuit, at Glasgow, where he had several times said mass, and converted several young people of the better class. He was brought to trial about the end of February, and denying the king and his council to be competent judges on some points of his religious belief, he was condemned and executed. On the death of archbishop Gladstones in 1615, Spotswood was removed from Glasgow to be primate and metropolitan of all Scotland, and the same year the two courts of high commission for Scotland, were, under him, united into one. In the year 1616, he presided in an assembly at Aberdeen, in virtue of his primacy, without any election. There was much seeming zeal in this assembly against popery, and the archbishop of Glasgow, and Mr William Struthers, minister at Edinburgh, were appointed to form a book of ecclesiastical canons for the purpose of establishing uniformity of discipline throughout all the kirks of the kingdom. A commission was also appointed to draw up a new liturgy, a new catechism, and a new Confession of Faith. His majesty visited his native kingdom in the succeeding year. On this occasion, twelve apostles, and four evangelists, curiously wrought in wood, were prepared to be set up in his royal chapel, but were not made use of. The English service, however, was introduced, with its appurtenances of organs, choristers, and surplices. The sacrament was also administered upon Whitsunday, after the English fashion. The consequence was only more violent opposition to these innovations. Nothing, however, could deter James from pressing his own peculiar views of ecclesiastical polity. At another Assembly held at St Andrews in the month of October, 1617, his five favourite articles were again brought forward, but could not be carried, even with all the zeal of the bishops to back his written requests. Disappointed by this result, the king ordered Spotswood to convocate the bishops, and the ministers that were in Edinburgh for the time, and to procure their approval of them, and, if they refused, to suspend them from their ministry. This also failed, and the articles were enjoined by a royal proclamation, to which but little deference was paid. Another Assembly was again suddenly and unexpectedly indicted, by royal proclamation, to be held at Perth, August 25, 1618, where, by the aid of a long letter from his majesty, and the assistance of Dr Peter Young, who was now dean of Winchester, Spotswood at length carried the five articles; kneeling at the sacrament; private communion; private baptism; confirmation of children; and observation of festivals. All the archbishop's authority, however, could not command obedience to them, though he continued to enforce them before the high commission court for a number of years. Among those of the clergy whom he deprived of their livings for non-compliance, were Mr Richard Dickson, Mr Andrew Duncan, Mr John Scrimger, Mr Alexander Simpson, Mr John Murray, Mr George Dunbar, Mr David Dickson, and Mr George Johnston. For all this severity he had certainly king James's warrant, and had he been even more severe, would probably have raised himself still higher in his majesty's favour. At the coronation of Charles I., which took place in Edinburgh on the 18th of June, 1633, Spotswood placed the crown upon his head, assisted by the bishops of Ross, Murray, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Brechin, arrayed in robes of blue silk, richly embroidered, reaching down to their feet, over which they had white rockets with lawn sleeves, and loops of gold. The archbishop of Glasgow and other bishops, having refused to appear in this costume, were not allowed to take any active part in the ceremony. Laud, who accompanied the monarch, and was master of the ceremonies on the occasion, had in-

roduced an altar into the church, on which stood two blind books, two wax candles lighted, and an empty bason. "Behind the altar there was ane rich tapestry wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought, and, as thir bishops who were on service past by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee and beck, which with their habit was noted, and bred great fear of inbringing of popery." Charles by these means rendered his visit disagreeable to the people, and he left them in a more dissatisfied state than even that in which he found them. A copy of a protestation, or statement of grievances, which had been drawn up to be presented to the parliament held by the king in 1633, but which circumstances had prevented its framers from presenting, having been shown in confidence by lord Balmerino, was surreptitiously carried to Spotswood, who hastened with it to court, where it was represented as a crime of no common kind. Balmerino was immediately brought to trial under the statute of *leasing making*, and, chiefly through the influence of the primate, who was himself an extraordinary lord of session, of which his second son, Robert, was president, condemned to die. This measure gave so much offence that it was found necessary to pardon Balmerino, a concession which did not at all satisfy the people, or remove their aversion to the prelates, upon whom the whole odium of these despotic proceedings was laid. That aversion was still heightened by the zeal displayed by the primate in enlarging the revenues of his see, which had, both in Glasgow and St Andrews, been a principal object with him, and in prosecuting which, his biographer affirms he made not fewer than fifty journeys between Scotland and the court of London. He had also about this time, on the death of lord Kinnoul, obtained the first office of the state, that of chancellor. He was labouring to revive the order of mitred abbots to be substituted in parliament in place of the lords of erection, whose impropriated livings and tithes he intended should go to their endowments. A book of canons, and a liturgy imposed upon the church by the sole authority of the king and the bishops in 1637, filled up the measure of court imprudence. Spotswood, whose gentle character probably revolted at the strong measures adopted by the king, exclaimed, on hearing of the intention to meet these innovations with a renewal of the covenant, that the labours of an age had been undone in a day. Scotland, in consequence of their own intolerant conduct, was now no agreeable place for bishops and the upholders of a semi-popish episcopacy; and Spotswood retired, with a depressed mind and a diseased frame to Newcastle, where he was confined for some time by sickness. On recovering a little, he proceeded to London, where he died, November 26, 1639, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, just in time to escape witnessing the total overthrow of his favourite church polity in Scotland. By his wife, Rachel Lindsay, daughter of the bishop of Ross, he had a numerous family, though only three of them survived him, two sons and a daughter. Spotswood was unquestionably a man of excellent abilities, but, though a clergyman, he was also a man of the world, and probably somewhat more ambitious than became his sacred profession. He was, however, neither sanguinary nor cruel, but, on the contrary, seems to have been desirous of accomplishing all his purposes by the gentlest means. As a historian he is entitled to very high praise. He certainly leans to the side of his own party, but his statements, like his general character, are, for the most part, marked by moderation. In richness and variety of materials, his history, perhaps, is not equal to several contemporary, or perhaps earlier productions of the same class, but in point of style and arrangement it is inferior to none.

SPOTSWOOD, (SIR) ROBERT, president of the court of session, was the second son of archbishop Spotswood, and was born in the year 1596. He was edu-

cated at the grammar school of Glasgow, and, at the age of thirteen, was sent to the university of that city, where, four years afterwards, he obtained the degree of master of arts. From Glasgow he was removed to Exeter college, Oxford, and studied under the celebrated Dr Prideaux. Honourable mention is made of Sir Robert in the "*Athenæ Oxonienses*." On the completion of his studies, he made the tour of France, Italy, and Germany, studying the laws of those countries, as well as the civil and canon law, and also theology, in which last he was deeply versed. When king James commanded archbishop Spotswood to write the history of his native kingdom, he procured, through Sir Robert's exertions, the ancient MSS. and records of the church, but especially the famous "*Black Book of Paisley*," which he recovered at Rome. Sir Robert was also able to redeem a number of other manuscripts, which had been carried abroad from Scottish monasteries at the Reformation; but unfortunately they were destroyed by the covenanters. On his return from the continent, after an absence of nine years, Sir Robert was most graciously received at the court of England by king James, to whom he gave such a good account of the laws, customs, and manners of the countries where he had been travelling, that the king appointed him one of the extraordinary judges of the court of session. On his receiving this appointment, the archbishop purchased and bestowed on him the barony of New-Abbey, in Galloway, and he assumed the title of Lord New-Abbey. He continued to be an extraordinary lord during James's reign; but, on the accession of Charles I., who deprived the judges of their commissions, and re-appointed some of them, Sir Robert was nominated an ordinary lord of session, or judge, on the 14th of February, 1626. On the death of Sir James Skene, in November, 1633, he was chosen president of the College of Justice. He disposed of the lands of New-Abbey to king Charles, who bestowed it on the newly erected bishopric of Edinburgh, and assumed the title of Lord Dunipace, from an estate he had purchased in Stirlingshire.

As the father now occupied the highest office in the state, and the primacy in the church, while the son filled the first judicial station in the country, no greatness under that of monarchy itself, could have appeared more enviable than that which was enjoyed by the family of Spotswood. It was greatness, however, dependent on mere court favour, and altogether wanting the only firm basis for official elevation, the concurrence and good-will of the nation. On the contrary, the Spotswoods had risen in consequence of their address in rendering up the liberties of their country into the hands of the king; and, however endeared to him, were detested by the great mass of their fellow citizens. Hence, when the Scots came to the point of resistance in 1637, and assumed the entire control of their own concerns, the Spotswoods vanished from before the face of their indignant countrymen, leaving no trace of their greatness behind, except in the important offices which they had left vacant.

Sir Robert Spotswood now became a close adherent of the king's person; and, with other obnoxious individuals in the same situation, proved the means of preventing that confidence in the sincerity of the monarch's concessions, which operated so much to his disadvantage. When Charles was in Scotland, in 1641, the estates presented him with an address, in which they beseeched that the late president of the court of session might be moved from his person and councils; and with this request the king was obliged to comply. At a late period in the civil war, (1645,) Charles recalled Sir Robert, and appointed him secretary of state for Scotland, in place of the earl of Lanark. In this character, Sir Robert signed the commission of the marquis of Montrose as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland; and, being appointed to convey this to the victorious general, he took shipping in the island of Anglesey, and,

landing in Lochaber, joined the marquis in Athole. He marched southward with the army, maintaining, however, a strictly civil character, and was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, where, it is said, he had only his walking cane in his hand. He was carried, along with some other prisoners of distinction, to St Andrews, and tried before the Parliament, on a charge of high treason. His defence was allowed to have been masterly, but a conviction was inevitable. He was condemned to be beheaded by the maiden, which was brought from Dundee for the purpose. "In his railing discourse to the people on the scaffold (says Row in his life of Robert Blair), among other things he said that the saddest judgment of God upon people at this time was, that the Lord had sent out a lying spirit in the mouths of the prophets, and that their ministers, that should lead them to heaven, were leading them the highway to hell. Mr Blair standing by him, as he was appointed by the commission of the Kirk, in answer to this, only said, 'It's no wonder to hear the son of a false prophet speak so of the faithful and honest servants of Jesus Christ;' which did so enrage the proud and impenitent spirit of Spotswood, that he died raging and railing against Christ's honest and faithful ministers, and his covenanted people." It was in declining the offer of Blair to pray for his soul that Sir Robert used the language which provoked the covenanters' stern rebuke, pointed with a sarcasm which might certainly have been spared on such an occasion. But the reproach and the retaliation illustrate the spirit of the times. Spotswood's biographer says his last words were—"Merciful Jesu, gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs, who have run before me in this race." This writer accuses "the fanatical minister of the place" of having incited the provost to prevent Sir Robert from addressing the people on the scaffold. A similar story is repeated in the Spottiswoode Miscellany, where, however, it is stated that Sir Robert "inveighed much against the Parliament of England," which is not consistent with the assertion that he was prevented from speaking to the spectators. The execution took place at the cross of St Andrews, January 17, 1646. Other two prisoners suffered along with Spotswood, namely, Nathaniel Gordon, who recanted his episcopacy, and died as a member of the Kirk, and Andrew Guthrie, "who died stupidly and impenitently." Of Spotswood and Guthrie, Row observes characteristically, "*These two were bishops' sons; mali corvi malum ovum.*"

Sir Robert Spotswood was well skilled in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic languages, besides his acquaintance with most of the modern European tongues. He was a profound lawyer, and an upright judge. Piety was a conspicuous feature in his character; though, according to the spirit of his age, it was debased by the exclusive and bigoted feelings of a partizan. He was the author of "The Practicks of the Law of Scotland;" a work which was only superseded by the more elaborate work of Stair.

His remains were honourably interred in the parish church of St Andrews, by Sir Robert Murray of Melgun, and other friends, among whom was Hugh Scrimgeour, a wealthy citizen of St Andrews, who had formerly been one of archbishop Spotswood's servants, and who took the execution of his old master's son so much to heart, that seeing the bloody scaffold still standing some days afterwards, he fainted on the spot; and, being carried home, died on the threshold of his own door.

STEUART (SIR) JAMES, of Coltness, Baronet, the father of political economy in Britain, was born on the 10th of October, 1713. He was the son of Sir James Steuart, bart., solicitor-general for Scotland, under queen Anne, and George I., by Anne, daughter of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, president of the court of session. The father of the solicitor-general was Sir James Steuart, lord ad-

vocate under William III., whose father was Sir James Steuart, provost of Edinburgh from 1648 to 1660, a descendant of the Bonhill branch of the family of Stewart.

The subject of this article spent his earliest years at Goodtrees, now Moredun, a seat of his father, near Edinburgh. At the school of North Berwick, he received the elementary part of his education, and it was afterwards completed at the university of Edinburgh, whither he went at the age of fourteen. At that institution, after going through a complete course of languages and sciences, he studied the civil law, with the occasional assistance of Mr Hercules Lindsay, an eminent civilian, and subsequently professor of that department in the university of Glasgow. From his earliest years, his abilities appeared rather of a solid and permanent, than of a dazzling nature. At the early age just mentioned, he succeeded his father in the baronetcy and estates connected with it, which were of moderate extent and value.

On the completion of his legal studies at the university of Edinburgh, Sir James went to the bar, (1734,) but without any intention of prosecuting the law as a profession. He soon after set out upon a tour of the continent, where he formed an acquaintance with the duke of Ormond, the earl Marischal, and other exiled Jacobite chiefs. The family from which he descended had been conspicuous for its attachment to the popular cause, for a century; but Sir James appears to have been converted by these nobles from his original Whig principles. Having permitted himself to be introduced by them to prince Charles Stuart at Rome, he received such civilities from that scion of expatriated royalty, as had a material effect upon the tenor of his future life. He returned to his native country in 1740, with many accomplishments, which added brilliancy to his character, but an unsettled tone of mind, which he afterwards greatly regretted.

Among the intimate friends of Sir James at this period of his life, was Mr Alexander Trotter, the father of one of the present land-proprietors of Mid-Lothian. Mr Trotter was cut off in early life; and, during his last illness, made a promise to Sir James, that, if possible, he would come to him after his death, in an enclosure near the house of Coltness, which in summer had been frequently their place of study. It was agreed, in order to prevent mistake or misapprehension, that the hour of meeting should be noon; that Mr Trotter should appear in the dress he usually wore, and that every other circumstance should be exactly conformable to what had commonly happened when they met together. Sir James laid greater stress on this engagement than sound reason will warrant. Both before and after his exile, he never failed, when it was in his power, to attend at the place of appointment, even when the debility arising from gout rendered him hardly able to walk. Every day at noon, while residing at Coltness, he went to challenge the promise of Mr Trotter, and always returned extremely disappointed that his expectation of his friend's appearance had not been gratified. When rallied on the subject, he always observed seriously, that we do not know enough of "the other world" to entitle us to assume that such an event as the reappearance of Mr Trotter was impossible. We fear, however, that the most of those who peruse this narrative will be inclined to class this anecdote with the "follies of the wise."

In the course of his travels, Sir James had formed an intimacy with lord Elcho, who, conceiving, in the warmth of youthful friendship, that the young baronet would be able to gain the affections of his sister, lady Frances Wemyss, carried him to Cedar Hall, in the north of Scotland, where that young lady was residing with the countess of Sutherland. As Elcho expected, Sir James gained the heart of lady Frances; and, after some scruples on the part of her

relations had been overcome, they were married in October, 1743, at Dunrobin castle, the lady bringing her husband what was then considered a very handsome fortune, namely, six thousand pounds. A pair more elegant, more amiable, and more accomplished, is rarely seen. Their union was blessed in August, 1744, by the birth of their son, the late Sir James Steuart, who was for many years the principal object of their care.

The subject of our memoir had joined the opposition party, and in the year last named he had an unpleasant collision with the family of Dundas, which was then beginning to take a leading part in Scottish politics. A claim preferred by him to be enrolled amongst the freeholders of Mid-Lothian, was refused; and for this he raised an action against Dundas of Arniston, then one of the senators of the college of justice. In the course of the judicial proceedings, Sir James pled his own cause in so masterly a manner, that lord Arniston descended from the bench, and defended himself at the bar. The cause was given against the young advocate; and this, no doubt, conspired, with other circumstances, to prepare him for the step he took in the subsequent year.

Sir James was residing in Edinburgh, in attendance upon lady Frances, who was then in a state of ill health, when prince Charles, at the head of his Highland army, took possession of the city. Among the principal adherents of the young adventurer, was lord Elcho, the brother-in-law and bosom friend of Sir James Steuart. The latter, with the earl of Buchan, who had married one of his sisters, formed the wish of being introduced to prince Charles, but without pledging themselves to join his standard. They, therefore, induced lord Elcho to seize them at the cross of Edinburgh, and conduct them, apparently as prisoners, into the presence of the prince. Being brought into an antechamber in Holyroodhouse, their friend proceeded to inform his royal highness of their arrival, and of the circumstances under which they approached him; when Charles, with great dignity, refused to see them in any other character than as avowed adherents of his cause. When Elcho returned with this intelligence, the earl of Buchan took his leave; while Sir James, a man greatly excelling that nobleman in intellect, proceeded to offer his services to the young chevalier. He was fortunately saved from the ultimate perils of the campaign, by being immediately despatched on a mission to the French court, where he was at the time of the battle of Culloden. The penalty of his rashness, was an exile of nearly twenty years, being, though not attained, among the exceptions from the act of indemnity.

Till the year 1763, when George III. permitted him to return home, Sir James Steuart resided abroad with his family, employing his leisure in those studies which he afterwards embodied in his works. He spent the greater part of the period of his exile in the town of Angouleme, where he became intimately acquainted with the French finance system, through a body of counselors of the parliament of Paris, who were banished to that town for nearly the space of two years. Sir James also spent some time at Frankfort, at Spa, at Venice, and at Padua. When in Germany, he and his lady were received with extraordinary marks of favour at the courts of Wirtemberg, Baden-Dourlach, and Hohenzollern. At Venice, in 1758, he and lady Frances had the good fortune to form a friendship with the celebrated lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who, till the end of her life, corresponded frequently with both, and gave them and their son many proofs of her affection: a series of her ladyship's letters to Sir James and lady Frances were printed at Greenock, under the care of the late Sir James, in 1818. Though exiled from Britain, on account of disloyalty to the Hanover dynasty, Sir James Steuart never entertained a disloyal feeling towards his country. On the contrary, the en-

thusiasm with which he rejoiced in the successes of the British arms during the seven years' war, led to his falling under the suspicion of the French court; and, while residing at Spa, in a neutral territory, a large body of troops was sent to apprehend him, and convey him to prison in the duchy of Luxemburg. It was not for many months that he succeeded in convincing the French government of its error, or regained his liberty.

The first work published by Sir James, was a volume, which appeared at Frankfort sur le Main, in 1758, under the title of "*Apologie du Sentiment de Monsieur le Chevalier Newton, sur l'ancienno Chronologie des Grecs, contenant des reponses a toutes les objections qui y ont été faites jusqu' a présent.*" In the same year, while settled at Tubingen, in Germany, he produced his "*Treatise on German Coins,*" in the German language. It was followed, in 1761, by "*A Dissertation on the Doctrine and Principles of Money, as applied to the German Coin;*" and in the same year, he so far made his peace with the British government, as to obtain a cornetcy in the Royal, or 1st regiment of dragoons. At the peace of Paris, in 1763, he was tacitly permitted to return home, and resume possession of his estates. It was in retirement at Colmess, that he probably put the last hand to his "*Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy,*" which was published in 1767, in two volumes, quarto. Messrs Miller and Cadell gave five hundred pounds for the copyright of this work, the merits of which were at the time a subject of considerable dispute. It has at least the merit of having been the first considerable work on this subject published in Britain, being about nine years antecedent to the work of Dr Smith. In 1769, Sir James published, under the assumed name of Robert Frame, "*Considerations on the Interests of the County of Lanark.*" By the interest of his friends, he now obtained a full pardon, which passed the great seal in 1771; and in the year following, he printed "*The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal.*" He also wrote, "*A Plan for introducing an uniformity of Weights and Measures,*" which was published after his death. He likewise published, "*Observations on Beattie's Essay on Truth;*" "*Critical Remarks on the Atheistical Falsehoods of Mirabaud's System of Nature;*" and "*A Dissertation concerning the Motive of Obedience to the Law of God.*" It is supposed that the ardour and assiduity with which he pursued his studies, proved detrimental to his health. An inflammation, commencing with a toe-nail too nearly cut, put an end to his valuable life, on the 26th of November, 1780. His remains were interred in the family vault at Cambusnethan church, and a monument has been erected to his memory in Westminster abbey.

Sir James Stewart was a man of extensive and varied powers of mind; cheerful and animated in conversation; amiable in all the domestic relations of life; and, unlike several other eminent men of that age, was able to prosecute philosophical inquiries, without abandoning the faith of a Christian. His works were published, with a memoir, by his son, in 1806, occupying six volumes.

STEWART, DUGALD, a celebrated metaphysical writer, was the only son who survived the age of infancy, of Dr Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, and of Marjory Stewart, daughter of Archibald Stewart, Esq., writer to the signet. His father, of whom a biographical memoir follows the present, is well known to the scientific world as a geometrician of eminence and originality. His mother was a woman remarkable for her good sense, and for great sweetness and kindness of disposition, and was always remembered by her son with the warmest sentiments of filial affection.¹

¹ For the greater part of the present article we are indebted to the Annual Obituary; the

The object of this brief notice was born in the college of Edinburgh, on the 22nd of November, 1753, and his health, during the first period of his life, was so feeble and precarious, that it was with more than the ordinary anxiety and solicitude of parents that his infancy was reared. His early years were spent partly in the house at that time attached to the mathematical chair of the university, and partly at Catrine, his father's property in Ayrshire, to which the family regularly removed every summer, when the academical session was concluded. At the age of seven, he was sent to the High School, where he distinguished himself by the quickness and accuracy of his apprehension, and where the singular felicity and spirit with which he caught and transfused into his own language the ideas of the classical writers, attracted the particular remark of his instructors.

Having completed the customary course of education at this seminary, he was entered as a student at the college of Edinburgh. Under the immediate instruction of such a mathematician and teacher as his father, it may readily be supposed that he made early proficiency in the exact sciences; but the distinguishing bent of his philosophical genius recommended him in a still more particular manner to the notice of Dr Stevenson, then professor of logic, and of Dr Adam Ferguson, who filled the moral philosophy chair.

In order to prosecute his favourite studies under the most favourable circumstances, he proceeded, at the commencement of the session of 1771, to the university of Glasgow, to attend the lectures of Dr Reid, who was then in the zenith of his reputation. The progress which he here made in his metaphysical studies, was proportioned to the ardour with which he devoted himself to the subject; and, not content with listening merely to the instructions of his master, or with the speculations of his leisure hours, he composed during the session that admirable *Essay on Dreaming*, which he afterwards published in the first volume of the "*Philosophy of the Human Mind*."

The declining state of his father's health compelled him, in the autumn of the following year, before he had reached the age of nineteen, to undertake the task of teaching the mathematical classes in the Edinburgh university. With what success he was able to fulfill this duty, was sufficiently evinced by the event; for, with all Dr Matthew Stewart's well-merited celebrity, the number of students considerably increased under his son. As soon as he had completed his twenty-first year, he was appointed assistant and successor to his father, and in this capacity he continued to conduct the mathematical studies in the university till his father's death, in the year 1785, when he was nominated to the vacant chair.

Although this continued, however, to be his ostensible situation in the university, his avocations were more varied. In the year 1778, during which Dr Adam Ferguson accompanied the commissioners to America, he undertook to supply his place in the moral philosophy class; a labour that was the more overwhelming, as he had for the first time given notice, a short time before his assistance was requested, of his intention to add a course of lectures on astronomy to the two classes which he taught as professor of mathematics. Such was the extraordinary fertility of his mind, and the facility with which it adapted its powers to such inquiries, that, although the proposal was made to him and accepted on Thursday, he commenced the course of metaphysics the following Monday, and continued, during the whole of the season, to think out and arrange in his head in the morning, (while walking backwards and forwards in a small garden attached to his father's house in the college,) the matter source to which, on application to Mr Stewart's representatives, we were referred for authentic information respecting their distinguished relative.

of the lecture of the day. The ideas with which he had thus stored his mind, he poured forth extempore in the course of the forenoon, with an eloquence and a felicity of illustration surpassing in energy and vivacity (as those who have heard him have remarked) the more logical and better digested expositions of his philosophical views, which he used to deliver in his maturer years. The difficulty of speaking for an hour extempore every day on a new subject for five or six months, is not small; but, when superadded to the mental exertion of teaching also daily, two classes of mathematics, and of delivering, for the first time, a course of lectures on astronomy, it may justly be considered as a very singular instance of intellectual vigour. To this season he always referred as the most laborious of his life; and such was the exhaustion of the body, from the intense and continued stretch of the mind, that, on his departure for London, at the close of the academical session, it was necessary to lift him into the carriage.

In the year 1780, he began to receive some young noblemen and gentlemen into his house as pupils, under his immediate superintendence, among whom were to be numbered the late lord Belhaven, the late marquis of Lothian, Basil lord Daer,² the late lord Powerscourt, Mr Muir Mackenzie of Delvin, and the late Mr Henry Glassford. In the summer of 1783, he visited the continent for the first time, having accompanied the late marquis of Lothian to Paris; on his return from whence, in the autumn of the same year, he married Helen Bannatyne, daughter of Neil Bannatyne, Esq., a merchant in Glasgow.

In the year 1785, during which Dr Matthew Stewart's death occurred, the health of Dr Ferguson rendered it expedient for him to discontinue his official labours in the university, and he accordingly effected an exchange of offices with Mr Stewart, who was transferred to the class of moral philosophy, while Dr Ferguson retired on the salary of mathematical professor. In the year 1787, Mr Stewart was deprived of his wife by death; and, the following summer, he again visited the continent, in company with the late Mr Ramsay of Barnton.

These slight indications of the progress of the ordinary occurrences of human life, must suffice to convey to the reader an idea of the connexion of events, up to the period when Mr Stewart entered on that sphere of action in which he laid the foundation of the great reputation which he acquired as a moralist and a metaphysician. His writings are before the world, and from them posterity may be safely left to form an estimate of the excellence of his style of composition—of the extent and variety of his learning and scientific attainments—of the singular cultivation and refinement of his mind—of the purity and elegance of his taste—of his warm relish for moral and for natural beauty—of his enlightened benevolence to all mankind, and of the generous ardour with which he devoted himself to the improvement of the human species—of all of which, while the English language endures, his works will continue to preserve the indelible evidence. But of one part of his fame no memorial will remain but in the recollection of those who have witnessed his exertions. As a public speaker, he was justly entitled to rank among the very first of his day; and, had an adequate sphere been afforded for the display of his oratorical powers, his merit in this line alone would have sufficed to secure him a lasting reputation. Among those who attracted the highest admiration

² Burns's first interview with Mr Stewart, in the presence of this amiable young nobleman, at Catrine, will be in every reader's remembrance, as well as the philosopher's attentions to the poet during his subsequent residence in Edinburgh. The house occupied by Mr Stewart at Catrine still exists, a small narrow old fashioned building, detached from the village.

in the senate and at the bar, there were not a few who could bear testimony to his extraordinary eloquence. The ease, the grace, and the dignity of his action; the compass and harmony of his voice, its flexibility and variety of intonation; the truth with which its modulation responded to the impulse of his feelings, and the sympathetic emotions of his audience; the clear and perspicuous arrangement of his matter; the swelling and uninterrupted flow of his periods, and the rich stores of ornament which he used to borrow from the literature of Greece and of Rome, of France and of England, and to interweave with his spoken thoughts with the most apposite application, were perfections not possessed in a superior degree by any of the most celebrated orators of the age. His own opinions were maintained without any overweening partiality; his eloquence came so warm from the heart, was rendered so impressive by the evidence which it bore of the love of truth, and was so free from all controversial acrimony, that what has been remarked of the purity of purpose which inspired the speeches of Brutus, might justly be applied to all that he spoke and wrote; for he seemed only to wish, without further reference to others than a candid discrimination of their errors rendered necessary, simply and ingenuously to disclose to the world the conclusions to which his reason had led him: "*Non malignitate aut invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue, judicium animi sui detexisse.*"

In 1790, after being three years a widower, he married Helen D'Arcy Cranstoun, a daughter of the honourable Mr George Cranstoun, a union to which he owed much of the subsequent happiness of his life. About this time it would appear to have been that he first began to arrange some of his metaphysical papers with a view to publication. At what period he deliberately set himself to think systematically on these subjects is uncertain. That his mind had been habituated to such reflections from a very early period is sufficiently known. He frequently alluded to the speculations that occupied his boyish, and even his infant thoughts, and the success of his logical and metaphysical studies at Edinburgh, and the *Essay on Dreaming*, which forms the fifth section of the first part of the fifth chapter of the first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, composed while a student at the college of Glasgow in 1772, at the age of eighteen, are proofs of the strong natural bias which he possessed for such pursuits. It is probable, however, that he did not follow out the inquiry as a train of thought, or commit many of his ideas to writing before his appointment in 1785, to the professorship of moral philosophy, gave a necessary and steady direction to his investigation of metaphysical truth. In the year 1792, he first appeared before the public as an author, at which time the first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind* was given to the world. While engaged in this work he had contracted the obligation of writing the life of Adam Smith, the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, and very soon after he had disembarrassed himself of his own labours, he fulfilled the task which he had undertaken; the biographical memoir of this eminent man having been read at two several meetings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the months of January and March, 1793. In the course of this year also, he published the *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*; a work which he used as a text book, and which contained brief notices, for the use of his students, of the subjects which formed the matter of his academical prelections. In March, 1796, he read before the Royal Society his account of the *Life and Writings of Dr Robertson*, and in 1802, that of the *Life and Writings of Dr Reid*.

By these publications alone, which were subsequently combined in one volume, quarto, he continued to be known as an author till the appearance of his volume of *Philosophical Essays* in 1810; a work to which a

melancholy interest attaches, in the estimation of his friends, from the knowledge that it was in the devotion of his mind to this occupation that he sought a diversion to his thoughts, from the affliction he experienced in the death of his second and youngest son. Although, however, the fruits of his studies were not given to the world, the process of intellectual exertion was unremitted. The leading branches of metaphysics had become so familiar to his mind, that the lectures which he delivered, very generally extempore, and which varied more or less in the language and matter every year, seemed to cost him little effort, and he was thus left in a great degree at liberty to apply the larger part of his day to the prosecution of his further speculations. Although he had read more than most of those who are considered learned, his life, as he has himself somewhere remarked, was spent much more in reflecting than in reading; and so unceasing was the activity of his mind, and so strong his disposition to trace all subjects of speculation, that were worthy to attract his interest, up to their first principles, that all important objects and occurrences furnished fresh matter to his thoughts. The public events of the time suggested many of his inquiries into the principles of political economy; his reflections on his occasional tours through the country, many of his speculations on the picturesque, the beautiful, and the sublime; and the study of the characters of his friends and acquaintances, and of remarkable individuals with whom he happened to be thrown into contact, many of his most profound observations on the sources of the varieties and anomalies of human nature.

In the period which intervened between the publication of his first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, and the appearance of his *Philosophical Essays*, he produced and prepared the matter of all his other writings, with the exception of his *Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy*, prefixed to the *Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica*. Independent of the prosecution of those metaphysical inquiries which constitute the substance of his second and third volumes of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, to this epoch of his life are to be referred the speculations in which he engaged with respect to the science of political economy, the principles of which he first embodied in a course of lectures, which, in the year 1800, he added as a second course to the lectures which formed the immediate subject of the instruction previously delivered in the university from the moral philosophy chair. So general and extensive was his acquaintance with almost every department of literature, and so readily did he arrange his ideas on any subject, with a view to their communication to others, that his colleagues frequently, in the event of illness or absence, availed themselves of his assistance in the instruction of their classes. In addition to his own academical duties, he repeatedly supplied the place of Dr John Robison, professor of natural philosophy. He taught for several months during one winter the Greek classes for the late Mr Dalzell: he more than one season taught the mathematical classes for Mr Playfair: he delivered some lectures on logic during an illness of Dr Finlayson; and, if we mistake not, he one winter lectured for some time on *belles lettres* for the successor of Dr Blair.

In 1796, he was induced once more to open his house for the reception of pupils; and in this capacity, the late lord Ashburton, the son of the celebrated Mr Dunning, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Dudley, the present lord Palmerston, and his brother the honourable Mr Temple, were placed under his care. The present marquis of Lansdowne, though not an inmate in his family, was resident at this time in Edinburgh, and a frequent guest at his house, and for him he contracted the highest esteem; and he lived to see him, along with two of his own pupils, cabinet ministers at the same time. Justly conceiving that the

formation of manners, and of taste in conversation, constituted a no less important part in the education of men destined to mix so largely in the world, than their graver pursuits, he rendered his house at this time the resort of all who were most distinguished for genius, acquirement, or elegance in Edinburgh, and of all the foreigners who were led to visit the capital of Scotland. So happily did he succeed in assorting his guests, so well did he combine the grave and the gay, the cheerfulness of youth with the wisdom of age, and amusement with the weightier topics that formed the subject of conversation to his more learned visitors, that his evening parties possessed a charm which many who frequented them have since confessed they have sought in vain in more splendid and insipid entertainments. In the year 1806, he accompanied his friend the earl of Lauderdale on his mission to Paris; and he had thus an opportunity not only of renewing many of the literary intimacies which he had formed in France before the commencement of the Revolution, but of extending his acquaintance with the eminent men of that country, with many of whom he continued to maintain a correspondence during his life.

While individuals of inferior talents, and of much inferior claims, had received the most substantial rewards for their services, it had been long felt that a philosopher like Stewart, who derived so small an income from his professional occupations, was both unjustly and ungenerously overlooked by his country. During the continuance of Mr Pitt's administration, when the government had so much to do for those who were immediately attached to it, it was hardly perhaps to be expected that an individual who owned no party affection to it, should have participated of its favours. On the accession, however, of the Whig administration, in 1806, the oversight was corrected, though not in the manner which was to have been wished. A sinecure office, that of gazette-writer for Scotland, was erected for the express purpose of rewarding Mr Stewart, who enjoyed with it a salary of £600 a-year for the remainder of his life. The peculiar mode in which the reward was conveyed, excited much notice at the time. It was agreed on all hands, that Mr Stewart merited the highest recompense; but it was felt by the independent men of all parties, that a liberal pension from the crown would have expressed the national gratitude in a more elegant manner, and placed Mr Stewart's name more conspicuously in the list of those public servants, who are repaid, in the evening of life, for the devotion of their early days to the honour and interest of their country.

The year after the death of his son, he relinquished the active duties of his chair in the university, and removed to Kinneil House, a seat belonging to the duke of Hamilton, on the banks of the Frith of Forth, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he spent the remainder of his days in philosophical retirement.³ From this place were dated, in succession, the *Philosophical Essays* in 1810; the second volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, in 1813;⁴

³ In 1812, Mr Stewart read, before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a highly interesting memoir, entitled, "Some Account of a Boy born Deaf and Blind;" which was subsequently published in the *Transactions* of that learned body. The boy was James Mitchell, the son of a clergyman in the north of Scotland; and, owing to his unfortunate defects, his knowledge of external objects was necessarily conveyed through the organs of touch, taste, and smell, only. Mr Stewart entertained hopes of being able to ascertain, from this case, the distinction between the original and acquired perceptions of sight; an expectation, however, which, from various circumstances, was not realized.

⁴ He retired from active life, upon an arrangement with the scarcely less celebrated Dr Thomas Brown, who had been his own pupil, who now agreed, as joint professor with Mr Stewart, to perform the whole duties of the chair. Mr Stewart's biographer in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, gives the following paragraph, in reference to this connexion:—"Although it was on Mr Stewart's recommendation that Dr Brown was raised to the chair of moral philosophy, yet the appointment did not prove to him a source of unmixed satisfaction. The fine poetical imagination of Dr Brown, the quickness of his apprehension, and the

the Preliminary Dissertation to the Encyclopædia; the continuation of the second part of the Philosophy, in 1827; and, finally, in 1828, the third volume, containing the Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man; a work which he completed only a few short weeks before his career was to close for ever. Here he continued to be visited by his friends, and by most foreigners who could procure an introduction to his acquaintance, till the month of January, 1822, when a stroke of palsy, which nearly deprived him of the power of utterance, in a great measure incapacitated him for the enjoyment of any other society than that of a few intimate friends, in whose company he felt no constraint. This great calamity, which bereaved him of the faculty of speech, of the power of exercise, of the use of his right hand,—which reduced him to a state of almost infantile dependence on those around him, and subjected him ever after to a most abstemious regimen, he bore with the most dignified fortitude and tranquillity. The malady which broke his health and constitution for the rest of his existence, happily impaired neither any of the faculties of his mind, nor the characteristic vigour and activity of his understanding, which enabled him to rise superior to the misfortune. As soon as his strength was sufficiently re-established, he continued to pursue his studies with his wonted assiduity, to prepare his works for the press with the assistance of his daughter as an amanuensis, and to avail himself with cheerful and unabated relish of all the sources of gratification which it was still within his power to enjoy, exhibiting, among some of the heaviest infirmities incident to age, an admirable example of the serene sunset of a well-spent life of classical elegance and refinement, so beautifully imagined by Cicero: “*Quiete, et pure, et elegantior actæ ætatis, placida ac lenis senectus.*”

In general company, his manner bordered on reserve; but it was the *comitate condita gravitas*, and belonged more to the general weight and authority of his character, than to any reluctance to take his share in the cheerful intercourse of social life. He was ever ready to acknowledge with a smile the happy sallies of wit, and no man had a keener sense of the ludicrous, or laughed more heartily at genuine humour. His deportment and expression were easy and unembarrassed, dignified, elegant, and graceful. His politeness was equally free from all affectation, and from all premeditation. It was the spontaneous result of the purity of his own taste, and of a heart warm with all the benevolent affections, and was characterized by a truth and readiness of tact that accommodated his conduct with undeviating propriety to the circumstances of the present moment, and to the relative situation of those to whom he addressed himself. From an early period of life, he had frequented the best society both in France and in this country, and he had in a peculiar de-

acuteness and ingenuity of his argument, were qualities but little suited to that patient and continuous research, which the phenomena of the mind so peculiarly demand. He accordingly composed his lectures with the same rapidity that he would have done a poem, and chiefly from the resources of his own highly gifted, but excited mind. Difficulties which had appalled the stoutest hearts, yielded to his bold analysis; and, despising the formalities of a siege, he entered the temple of pneumatology by storm. When Mr Stewart was apprized that his own favourite and best founded opinions were controverted from the very chair which he had scarcely quitted; that the doctrines of his revered friend and master, Dr Reid, were assailed with severe, and not very respectful animadversions; and that views even of a doubtful tendency were freely expounded by his ingenious colleague, his feelings were strongly roused; and, though they were long repressed by the peculiar circumstances of his situation, yet he has given them full expression, in a note in the third volume of his *Elements*, which is alike remarkable for the severity and delicacy of its reproof.”

It is worthy of notice, that from 1810 to 1818, when Mr Adam Ferguson died, there were alive three professors of moral philosophy, who had been, or were connected with the Edinburgh university. Upon the death of Dr Brown, in 1820, Mr Stewart resigned the chair in favour of the late Mr John Wilson, who succeeded.

gree the air of good company. In the society of ladies he appeared to great advantage, and to women of cultivated understanding his conversation was particularly acceptable and pleasing. The immense range of his erudition, the attention he had bestowed on almost every branch of philosophy, his extensive acquaintance with every department of elegant literature, ancient or modern, and the fund of anecdote and information which he had collected in the course of his intercourse with the world, with respect to almost all the eminent men of the day, either in this country or in France, enabled him to find suitable subjects for the entertainment of the great variety of visitors of all descriptions, who at one period frequented his house. In his domestic circle, his character appeared in its most amiable light, and by his family he was beloved and venerated almost to adoration. So uniform and sustained was the tone of his manners, and so completely was it the result of the habitual influence of the natural elegance and elevation of his mind on his external demeanour, that when alone with his wife and children, it hardly differed by a shade from that which he maintained in the company of strangers; for, although his fondness, and familiarity, and playfulness, were alike engaging and unrestrained, he never lost anything either of his grace or his dignity: "*Nec vero ille in luce modo, atque in oculis civium, magnus, sed intus domique præstantior.*" As a writer of the English language,—as a public speaker,—as an original, a profound, and a cautious thinker,—as an expounder of truth,—as an instructor of youth,—as an elegant scholar,—as an accomplished gentleman;—in the exemplary discharge of the social duties,—in uncompromising consistency and rectitude of principle,—in unbending independence,—in the warmth and tenderness of his domestic affections,—in sincere and unostentatious piety,—in the purity and innocence of his life, few have excelled him: and, take him for all in all, it will be difficult to find a man, who, to so many of the perfections, has added so few of the imperfections, of human nature. "*Mihi quidem quanquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen, semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quæ extincta non est; nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis.*"

Mr Stewart's death occurred on the 11th of June, 1828, at No. 5, Ainslie Place, Edinburgh, where he had been for a few days on a visit.

The remains of this distinguished philosopher were interred in the Canon-gate churchyard, near the honoured remains of Dr Adam Smith. At a meeting of his friends and admirers, which soon after took place, a subscription was entered into for erecting a monument, in some conspicuous situation, to his memory; and a large sum being immediately collected, the work was soon after commenced, under the superintendence of Mr Playfair, architect. Mr Stewart's monument is an elegant Grecian temple, with a simple cinerary urn in the centre, and occupies a most fortunate situation on the south-west shoulder of the Calton hill, near the Observatory.

Mr Stewart left behind him a widow and two children, a son and daughter; the former of whom, lieutenant-colonel Matthew Stewart, has published an able pamphlet on Indian affairs. With appropriate generosity, the government allowed the sinecure enjoyed by Mr Stewart, to descend to his family.

The subject of this memoir was of the middle size, and particularly distinguished by an expression of benevolence and intelligence, which Sir Henry Raeburn has well preserved in his portrait of him, painted for lord Woodhouselee, before he had reached his 55th year. Mr Stewart had the remarkable peculiarity of vision, which made him insensible to the less refrangible colours of the spectrum. This affection of the eye was long unknown both to himself and his friends, and was discovered from the accidental circumstance of one of his

family directing his attention to the beauty of the fruit of the Siberian crab, when he found himself unable to distinguish the scarlet fruit from the green leaves of the tree. One of the rules by which he guided himself in literary matters, was never to publish anything anonymously: a rule which, if generally observed, would probably save the world the reading of much inferior and much vicious composition.

STEWART, (Dr) MATTHEW, an eminent geometrician, and professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, was born at Rothesay, in the island of Bute,—of which his father, the reverend Mr Dugald Stewart, was minister,—in the year 1717.¹ On finishing his course at the grammar school, he was entered at the university of Glasgow in 1734. At college, he became acquainted with Dr Hutcheson and Dr Simson. In the estimation of the latter, he rose, in after life, from the rank of a favourite pupil, to that of an esteemed friend. They were long intimate personal companions, admired the same branches of their common science, and exhibited in their works symptoms of mutual assistance. It is said, indeed, that we are indebted to the friendship and acuteness of Simson, for the suggestion of mathematics as a study suited to the genius of Stewart. At all events, there is every reason to suppose that the love of the latter for the geometry of the ancients, was derived from his intercourse with his instructor. While attending the lectures of Dr Gregory in Edinburgh, in 1741, the attractions of the new analysis were not sufficient to make him neglect his favourite study; and he communicated to his friend his discoveries in geometry, receiving similar communications in return. While Simson was conducting the laborious investigations, which enabled him to revive the porisms of the ancients, Stewart received the progressive benefit of the discoveries, long before they were communicated to the world; and while he probably assisted his friend in his investigations, he was enabled, by investigating the subject in a new direction, to publish, in 1746, his celebrated series of propositions, termed “General Theorems.” “They are,” says the author’s biographer, “among the most beautiful, as well as most general propositions known in the whole compass of geometry, and are perhaps only equalled by the remarkable *locus* to the circle in the second book of Apollonius, or by the celebrated theorems of Mr Cotes. The first demonstration of any considerable number of them, is that which was lately communicated to this society² [the Royal Society of Edinburgh]; though I believe there are few mathematicians, into whose hands they have fallen, whose skill they have not often exercised. The unity which prevails among them, is a proof that a single, though extensive view, guided Mr Stewart in the discovery of them all.”

Meanwhile, Mr Stewart had become a licentiate of the church of Scotland; and through the joint influence of the earl of Bute and the duke of Argyle, had obtained the living of Roseneath. The “General Theorems” made their appearance at a time when they were calculated to have a considerable effect on the prospects of the author. In the summer of 1746, the mathematical chair of Edinburgh became vacant, by the death of Mr Maclaurin. Stewart was not at that period known to the learned world; and Mr Stirling, a gentleman of well known reputation, was requested to become the new professor. This gentleman declined the situation; and, towards the end of the year, when the patrons of the university were looking for another candidate worthy of the important duty, Stewart’s book was published. The author was readily offered the situation, which he accepted. “The duties of this office,” says his biographer, “gave a turn somewhat different to his mathematical pursuits, and led

¹ Memoir by professor Playfair, Trans. R. Soc. Edin. i. 57.

² Communicated by Dr Small.

him to think of the most simple and elegant means of explaining those difficult propositions, which were hitherto only accessible to men deeply versed in the modern analysis. In doing this, he was pursuing the object which, of all others, he most ardently wished to attain, viz., the application of geometry to such problems as the algebraic calculus alone had been thought able to resolve. His solution of Kepler's problem was the first specimen of this kind which he gave to the world; and it was impossible to have produced one more to the credit of the method which he followed, or of the abilities with which he applied it." This solution appeared in the second volume of the *Essays of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh*, for the year 1756. To quote again the words of the eminent biographer: "Whoever examines it, will be astonished to find a problem brought down to the level of elementary geometry, which had hitherto seemed to require the finding of fluents, and the reversion of series; he will acknowledge the reasonableness of whatever confidence Mr Stewart may be hereafter found to place in those simple methods of investigation, which he could conduct with so much ingenuity and success; and will be convinced, that the solution of a problem, though the most elementary, may be the least obvious; and though the easiest to be understood, may be the most difficult to be discovered." In pursuance of his principle of introducing the forms of ancient demonstration, as applicable to those more complicated parts of the science, called the mixed mathematics, for which they had been considered unqualified, he published, in 1761, his "*Tracts, Physical and Mathematical, containing an Explanation of several important Points in Physical Astronomy; and a New Method of ascertaining the Sun's distance from the Earth, by the Theory of Gravitation.*" "In the first of these," says his biographer, "Mr Stewart lays down the doctrine of centripetal forces, in a series of propositions, demonstrated, (if we admit the quadrature of curves,) with the utmost rigour, and requiring no previous knowledge of the mathematics, except the elements of plain geometry, and conic sections. The good order of these propositions, added to the clearness and simplicity of the demonstrations, renders this tract the best elementary treatise of physical astronomy that is anywhere to be found." It was the purpose of the three remaining tracts to determine the effect of those forces which disturb the motions of a secondary planet; and, in particular, to determine the distance of the sun, from its effect in disturbing the motions of the moon. Owing to the geometrical method which he adopted, and likewise to the extreme distance of the sun, which makes all the disturbances he produces on the motion of the moon, very near to that point at which increase of distance to infinity would not change their force, he could only proceed on a system of approximation; and in applying the principles of his plan to a practical calculation of the sun's distance, which he published in 1763, entitled, "*Distance of the Sun from the Earth, determined by the Theory of Gravitation, together with several other things relative to the same subject,*" he was found to have made a very considerable error. He found the distance of the sun to be equal to 29,875 semi-diameters of the earth, or about 118,541,428 English miles. About five years afterwards, there appeared a pamphlet from the pen of Mr Dawson of Sudbury, called "*Four Propositions, intended to point out certain Errors in Dr Stewart's Investigation, which had given a result much greater than the truth.*" This was followed by a second attack from Mr Lauden, who, like Price in arithmetic, accomplished the difficult task of becoming an enthusiast in mathematics, and, by means of exaggerating errors, and commenting on their atrocity, astonished the world with a specimen of controversial mathematics. The biographer thus states the sources of the mistakes which called forth these animadversions: "As in arithmetic, we neglect those

small fractions which, though of inconsiderable amount, would exceedingly embarrass our computations; so, in geometry, it is sometimes necessary to reject those small quantities, which would add little to the accuracy, and much to the difficulty of the investigation. In both cases, however, the same thing may happen; though each quantity thrown out may be inconsiderable in itself, yet the amount of them altogether, and their effect on the last result, may be greater than is apprehended. This was just what had happened in the present case. The problem to be resolved, is, in its nature, so complex, and involves the estimation of so many causes, that, to avoid inextricable difficulties, it is necessary to reject some quantities, as being small in comparison of the rest, and to reason as if they had no existence." Soon after the publication of this essay, Dr Stewart's health began to decline; and in 1772, he retired to the country, leaving the care of his class to his eminent son, Dugald Stewart, who was elected joint professor with him in 1775. He died on the 23d January, 1785, at the age of sixty-eight. Besides the works above mentioned, he published "*Propositiones Geometricæ more veterum Demonstratæ ad Geometriam Antiquam Illustrandam et Promovendam Idoneæ*," 1763.

STEWART, (MAJOR-GENERAL,) DAVID, author of the well-known "Sketches" of the Highlanders and Highland Regiments, was the second son of Robert Stewart, Esq. of Garth, in Perthshire, and was born in the year 1772. In the seventeenth year of his age, he entered the 42nd regiment as an ensign, and soon became distinguished for that steadiness and firmness of conduct, joined to benignity of nature and amenity of manners, which marked him through life. He served in the campaigns of the duke of York in Flanders, and was present at the siege of Nieuport and the defence of Nimeguen. In 1796, he accompanied the regiment, which formed part of the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, to the West Indies, and was for several years actively employed in a variety of operations against the enemy's settlements in that quarter of the world; particularly in the capture of St Lucia, and the harassing and desperate contest which was carried on with the Caribbs in St Vincent and other islands. In the landing near Pigeon Island, he was among the first who jumped ashore, under a heavy fire of round and grape shot from a battery so posted as almost to sweep the beach. "A cannon-ball," says he, in a letter addressed to Sir John Sinclair, "passed lord Hopetoun's left shoulder, and over my head. He observed that a miss was as good as a mile, to which I cordially agreed; and added, that it was fortunate for me that I was only five feet six inches; as if I were, like him, six feet five inches, I would have been a head shorter." In the year just mentioned, he was promoted to the rank of captain-lieutenant, and, after serving in the West Indies for a year and a half, he returned to England, but not to enjoy repose, for he was almost immediately ordered to join the head-quarters of the regiment at Gibraltar, and the following year accompanied it, when ordered to assist in the expedition against the island of Minorca. He was afterwards taken prisoner at sea, and detained for five months in Spain, when he had the fortune to be exchanged.

At the close of 1800, he was promoted to the rank of captain; a step which like all others he subsequently obtained, was given him for his services alone; and, in 1801, his regiment received orders to join Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the memorable expedition to Egypt. At the landing effected in the bay of Aboukir, in the face of the enemy, on the morning of the 8th of March, 1801, captain Stewart was one of the first to leap on shore from the boats; and when the four regiments destined for the attack of the enemy's position on the sand hills—the 40th, 23rd, 28th, and 42nd—had formed, and received orders to charge up the hill and dislodge the enemy at the point of the bayonet,

the subject of this memoir, by his gallant bearing, and knowledge of the capabilities of his countrymen, when properly commanded, contributed essentially to the brilliant success which almost immediately crowned this daring operation. In the celebrated action of the 21st, when the British army overthrew the French, but with the loss of their commander-in-chief, the services of the 42nd were such as to secure for them undying fame. On this occasion, captain Stewart, whose personal exertions had been conspicuous in inspiring the men with a determination to conquer or perish, received a severe wound, which prevented his taking almost any part in the subsequent operations of the campaign.

Few officers have ever possessed so powerful a command over the energies of their men as the subject of these pages. He had studied the Highland character thoroughly; had made himself the brother and confidant of the men under him; and could, with an art approaching to that of the poet, awaken those associations in their bosoms which were calculated to elevate and nerve their minds for the perilous tasks imposed upon them. The Highland soldier is not a mere mercenary: he acts under impulses of an abstract kind, which none but one perfectly skilled in his character, and who has local and family influences over him, can take full advantage of. The usual principles of military subordination fail in his case; while he will more than obey, if that be possible, the officer who possesses the influences alluded to, and will use them in a kind and brotherly spirit. Captain Stewart appears to have enjoyed and used these advantages in a remarkable degree, and to have possessed not only the affections of his men, but of all connected with them in their own country. Hence, when he had to recruit in 1804, for a majority, the stated number of men, one hundred and twenty-five, came to his quarters at Drumcharry House, in less than three weeks, after which between thirty and forty arrived too late for admission into the corps, whose disappointment and vexation at finding they could not serve under captain Stewart, no language could describe. With this contingent he entered the 78th, with the rank of major, and in 1805, trained his men at Hythe, under the immediate direction of Sir John Moore. In June that year, he was selected with four other officers to join the first battalion in India; but his parting with his men was accompanied with such poignant regret, and so many marks of reluctance on their part, that general Moore reported the case to the commander-in-chief, who, sensible of the value of a mutual esteem existing between men and officers, countermanded his removal. In September, he accompanied his regiment to Gibraltar, where it continued to perform garrison duty until the month of May, 1806, when it embarked for Sicily, to join in the descent which general Sir John Stuart was then meditating on Calabria. Major Stewart accompanied the battalion on this occasion, and was present at the battle of Maida, fought on the 4th of July, 1806, where he was again severely wounded. Being obliged to return to Britain for his health, he was, in April, 1808, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, with a regimental appointment to the 3rd West India Rangers, then in Trinidad. But the severity of the wounds he had received, and the effects of the hard service he had encountered in various parts of the world, rendered it impossible for him to avail himself of his good fortune, and he was obliged to retire upon half-pay at a period when, had he been able to keep the field, he would soon have found further promotion or a soldier's grave. Notwithstanding this circumstance, he was, in 1814, promoted to the rank of colonel.

Colonel Stewart now for several years employed his leisure in the composition of his work on the Highlanders, which appeared in the year 1822, in two

volumes, 8vo.¹ The earlier part of this work, which enters minutely into the character of the Highlanders, and embodies a great quantity of original anecdote and observation, is perhaps the most generally interesting, though it does not aspire to the important quality of historical accuracy: the most truly valuable part of the book is that which details the services of the regiments which have been at various times raised in the Highlands; a body of soldiers generally allowed to have surpassed every other part of the British army, of the same extent in numbers, at once in steady moral conduct and in military glory. The work attained a popularity proportioned to its high merits, and will ever remain as a memorial of its author, endearing his name to the bosoms of his countrymen.

A few months after the publication of his book, colonel Stewart succeeded to his paternal estate, in consequence of the deaths of his father and elder brother, which occurred in rapid succession. He is understood to have employed part of the year 1823, in collecting materials for a history of the Rebellion of 1745, a desideratum in our literature which no hand was so well qualified to supply; but, finding insuperable difficulties in the execution of the task, he was reluctantly obliged to abandon it. In 1825, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and he was soon after appointed governor of the island of St Lucia. He proceeded to undertake this duty, with high hopes on his own part, but the regrets and fears of his friends. Unfortunately, their anticipations proved true. General Stewart died of fever, on the 18th of December, 1829, in the midst of many improvements which his active mind had originated in the island, and which, had he lived to complete them, would have probably redounded to his honour as much as any transaction in his useful and well-spent life.

General Stewart was of the middle stature, but originally of a robust frame, which was latterly shattered considerably by wounds. His features, which spoke his character, have been commemorated in a spirited engraving, representing him in the Highland dress. Few individuals in recent times have secured so large a share of the affections of all classes of the people of Scotland, as David Stewart of Garth.

STONE, EDMUND, an ingenious self-taught mathematician, of whom nothing is known, except from a letter written by the chevalier Ramsay to father Castel, published in the *Memoirs de Irevoux*. It there appears that Stone was the son of a gardener in the employment of John, duke of Argyle, at Inverary, in the early part of the eighteenth century. "He attained the age of eight years before he learnt to read; but, a servant having taught him the letters of the alphabet, he soon made a rapid progress with very little assistance. He applied to the mathematics; and, notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties of his situation, attained a knowledge of the most sublime geometry and analysis, without a master, and without any other guide, it is said, than his own genius. At the age of eighteen, he had advanced thus far, when his abilities and the extent of his acquirements were discovered by the following accident. The duke of Argyle, who to his military talents united a general knowledge of every science that can adorn the mind of a great man, walking one day in his garden, saw lying upon the grass a Latin copy of Newton's *Principia*. Having called some one to carry it back to his library, the young gardener told him that it belonged to himself. The duke was surprised, and asked him whether he were sufficiently acquainted with Latin and geometry to understand Newton. Stone replied, with an air of simplicity, that he knew a little of both.

¹ It was entitled "Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland, with details of the Military services of the Highland Regiments."

The duke then entered into conversation with the young mathematician, asked him several questions, and was astonished at the force and accuracy of his answers. The duke's curiosity being redoubled, he sat down on a bank, and requested to know by what means he acquired such knowledge. 'I first learnt to read,' said Stone: 'the masons were then at work upon your house: I went near them one day, and I saw that the architect used a rule and compass, and that he made calculations. I inquired what might be the meaning and use of these things; and I was informed that there was a science named Arithmetic. I purchased a book of arithmetic, and I learnt it. I was told that there was another science, called Geometry: I bought books, and learnt geometry also. By reading, I found that there were good books on these two sciences in Latin: I bought a dictionary, and learnt Latin. I understood also that there were good books of the same kind in French: I bought a dictionary, and I learnt French. And this, my lord, is what I have done. It seems to me that we may learn anything, when we know the twenty-four letters of the alphabet.' With this account the duke was delighted. He drew this wonderful young man from his obscurity, and provided him with an employment, which left him plenty of time to apply to his favourite pursuits. He discovered in him also the same genius for music, for painting, for architecture, and for all the sciences that depend upon calculations and proportions."

Stone is said to have been a man of great simplicity; and, though sensible of his own acquirements, neither vain nor conceited. It is to be regretted that no particulars are accessible, respecting the latter part of his career: we are not even informed, whether he spent the remainder of his life in Argyleshire or in London; though it seems probable that the latter was the scene of his chief scientific labours. His works, partly original and partly translations, are as follows: "A New Mathematical Dictionary," first printed in 1726, 8vo; "A Treatise on Fluxions," 1730, 8vo: in this work, the direct method is a translation from the French of the Marquis de l'Hopital's "Analysis des Infiniments Petits," and the concise method was supplied by Stone himself: "The Elements of Euclid," 1731, 2 vols. 8vo; a neat and useful edition, with an account of the Life and Writings of Euclid, and a defence of his elements against modern objectors; besides some smaller works. Stone was a fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated to it an "Account of two species of Lines of the Third Order, not mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton or Mr Sterling," which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xli.

STRAHAN, WILLIAM, an eminent printer and patron of literature, was born at Edinburgh in the year 1715.¹ His father, who held a situation connected with the customs, was enabled to give him a respectable education at a grammar school, after which he was apprenticed to a printer. Very early in life he removed to the wide field of London, where he appears to have worked for some time as a journeyman printer, and to have with much frugality, creditably supported a wife and family on the small income so afforded him. His wife, whom he early married, was sister to Mr James Elphinston, the translator of Martial. It can be well supposed that he had for many years many difficulties to overcome; but he was of a happy temper, looking forward to prosperity as the reward of his toils, without being unduly sanguine. It is said he used to remark, "that he never had a child born, that Providence did not send some increase of income to provide for the increase of his household." After shaking himself free of his difficulties, he grew rapidly wealthy, and in 1770 was enabled to purchase a share of the patent for King's Printer of Mr Eyre. Previously to this period, Mr Strahan had commenced a series of speculations

¹ Memoir in *Lounger* of August 20, 1785.—*Nichol's Lit. An.* iii. 399.

in the purchase of literary property, that species of merchandise which more than any other depends for its success on the use of great shrewdness and critical discernment. Strahan was eminently successful, and with the usual effect of good management, was enabled to be liberal to authors, while he enriched himself. With Dr Johnson he was for some time intimately connected, and he took the charge of editing his prayers and meditations after the doctor's death. Johnson, however, has been accused of speaking of him in a manner which the world seldom admires, when used towards a person to whom the speaker owes obligations, whatever may be the intellectual disparity. Boswell observes, "Dr Gerard told us, that an eminent printer was very intimate with Warburton. *Johnson*. 'Why, sir, he has printed some of his works, and perhaps, bought the property of some of them.' The intimacy is such as one of the professors here might have with one of the carpenters, who is repairing the college." In a letter to Sir William Forbes, Dr Beattie has made the following remark on this passage, "I cannot but take notice of a very illiberal saying of Johnson with respect to the late Mr Strahan, (Mr Boswell has politely concealed the name,) who was a man to whom Johnson had been much obliged, and whom, on account of his abilities and virtues, as well as rank in life, every one who knew him, and Johnson as well as others, acknowledged to be a most respectable character. I have seen the letter mentioned by Dr Gerard, and I have seen many other letters from bishop Warburton to Mr Strahan. They were very particularly acquainted: and Mr Strahan's merit entitled him to be on a footing of intimacy with any bishop, or any British subject. He was eminently skilled in composition and the English language, excelled in the epistolary style, had corrected (as he told me himself) the phraseology of both Mr Hume and Dr Robertson; he was a faithful friend, and his great knowledge of the world, and of business, made him a very useful one."² The expression was probably one of a splenetic moment, for Johnson was not on all occasions on good terms with Strahan. "In the course of this year," (1778,) says Boswell, "there was a difference between him (Johnson) and his friend Mr Strahan: the particulars of which it is unnecessary to relate." The doctor must have been signally in the wrong, for he deigned to offer terms of accommodation. "It would be very foolish for us," he says in a letter to Strahan, "to continue strangers any longer. You can never by persistency make wrong right. If I resented too acrimoniously, I resented only to yourself. Nobody ever saw or heard what I wrote. You saw that my anger was over, for in a day or two I came to your house. I have given you longer time; and I hope you have made so good use of it as to be no longer on evil terms with, Sir, yours, &c., Sam. Johnson."³ Strahan, when he became influential with the ministry, proposed Johnson as a person well fitted to hold a seat in parliament for their interest, but the recommendation was not adopted. So soon as he found himself in easy circumstances, Mr Strahan became an active politician, and corresponded with many eminent statesmen. In the year 1769, he wrote some Queries to Dr Franklin, respecting the discontents of the Americans, which were afterwards published in the London Chronicle of 28th July, 1778. In 1775, he was elected member for the borough of Malmsbury, in Wiltshire, with Fox as his colleague, and in the succeeding parliament he represented Wotton Bassett in the same county. He is said to have been an active and useful legislator. On the resignation of his friends in 1784, he declined, partly from bad health, to stand again for a seat. His health from this period quickly declined, and he died on the 9th July, 1785, in the seven-

² Forbes' Life of Beattie, ii. 185.

³ Boswell, iii. 392.

ty-first year of his age. He provided munificently for his widow and children, and among many other eleemosynary bequests, left £1000 to the company of Stationers, to be disposed of for charitable purposes.

The author of the memoir in the *Lounger*, gives the following account of his character: "Endued with much natural sagacity, and an attentive observation of life, he owed his rise to that station of opulence and respect which he attained, rather to his own talents and exertion, than to any accidental occurrence of favourable or fortunate circumstances. His mind, though not deeply tinctured with learning, was not uninformed by letters. From a habit of attention to style, he had acquired a considerable portion of critical acuteness in the discernment of its beauties and defects. In one branch of writing himself excelled. I mean the epistolary, in which he not only showed the precision and clearness of business, but possessed a neatness, as well as fluency of expression, which I have known few letter-writers to surpass. Letter-writing was one of his favourite amusements; and among his correspondents were men of such eminence and talents as well repaid his endeavours to entertain them. One of these, as we have before mentioned, was the justly celebrated Dr Franklin, originally a printer like Mr Strahan, whose friendship and correspondence he continued to enjoy, notwithstanding the difference of their sentiments in political matters, which often afforded pleasantry, but never mixed anything acrimonious in their letters. * * * In his elevation he neither triumphed over the inferiority of those he had left below him, nor forgot the equality in which they had formerly stood. Of their inferiority he did not even remind them, by the ostentation of grandeur, or the parade of wealth. In his house there was none of that saucy train, none of that state or finery, with which the illiberal delight to confound and to dazzle those who may have formerly seen them in less enviable circumstances. No man was more mindful of, or more solicitous to oblige, the acquaintance or companions of his early days. The advice which his experience, or the assistance which his purse could afford, he was ready to communicate: and at his table in London, every Scotchman found an easy introduction, and every old acquaintance a cordial welcome."

STRANG, (Dr) JOHN, minister of Errol, and principal of the university of Glasgow in the early part of the seventeenth century, was born at Irvine in Ayrshire, (of which his father, Mr William Strang, was minister,) in 1584. Like many other eminent men, he had the misfortune to lose his father at a very early period, but the place of a parent was supplied to him in Mr Robert Wilkie, minister of Kilmarnock, whom his mother married soon after she became a widow. Under the care of that gentleman, he was educated at the public school of Kilmarnock, where he had as a schoolfellow Mr Zachary Boyd, renowned as a divine, as a poetical paraphrast of the Bible, and as a munificent benefactor to the university of Glasgow. That singular person always mentioned Strang as being from the earliest period remarkable for piety; together with acuteness and its frequent concomitant, modesty. At the age of twelve his step-father sent him to study Greek and philosophy at St Leonard's college, St Andrews, then under the direction of his kinsman, principal Robert Wilkie. Nor did he disgrace the patronage of the principal: he equalled or surpassed all his contemporaries, and was made master of arts in his sixteenth year. Although still very young, he was then unanimously invited by the master of the college to become one of the regents. That office he accepted, and continued to discharge with great fidelity and effect till about the end of 1613, when he was with similar unanimity urged to become minister of the parish of Errol, in the presbytery of Perth. Thither he accordingly removed in the beginning of the following year, carrying with him the best wishes

of his colleagues at St Andrews, and an ample testimonial from the presbytery. Among the signatures attached to that document appear those of Alexander Henderson, John Carnichael, Robert Howie, and John Dykes,—the first highly celebrated, and the others well known to those who have studied the history of the period. The head of the family of Errol, who resided in the parish to which Strang had been appointed, had as a sort of chaplain a jesuit of the name of Hay, whose subtilty and eloquence are said to have been the means of converting him and his family to the Roman catholic faith, and of spreading the doctrines of papistry through the country. These circumstances afforded Strang an opportunity not to be omitted, and he is said to have so far counteracted the efforts of the jesuit, that, although he could never persuade lord Errol fully to embrace the protestant doctrines, he was the means of converting his family. His son, Francis, a youth of great hopes, died in early life in that faith, and his daughters, ladies Mar and Buccleugh, adhered to it throughout their lives.

Among the steps by which king James and the Scottish bishops were now attempting gradually to introduce episcopacy and conformity to the Anglican church, one was the restoration of academical degrees in divinity, which had been discontinued in Scotland almost since the period of the Reformation, as resembling too much some of the formalities of the system which had been abolished. In the year 1616, it was determined to invest several persons with the honour of doctor of divinity at St Andrews, and, as it was considered good policy to introduce a few popular names into the list, Mr Strang, though in no way attached to the new system, was among others fixed upon. In the following year the monarch revisited his native country, and, among the long train of exhibitions which marked his progress, the public dispensations held in the royal presence were not the least. One of these was held at St Andrews by the masters of the university and doctors of divinity, and according to his biographer, “by the universall consent of all present, Dr Strang excelled all the rest of the speakers in discourse, which was pious, modest, but full of the greatest and subtilest learning.” But any favour which he might gain with the learned monarch upon this occasion was more than counterbalanced in the following year by his opposition to the famous articles of Perth: he was the only doctor in divinity who voted against their adoption. Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, when the archbishop of St Andrews got the court of High Commission remodelled with the view of compelling conformity to these articles, Dr Strang’s name was included among the members. It is greatly to his honour that he did not attend its meetings or give his sanction to any of its acts; a circumstance which renders it at least doubtful whether he approved of the principles of such an institution. In the year 1620, Dr Strang was chosen one of the ministers of Edinburgh; but he was too shrewd an observer of the signs of those times, and too much attached to his flock to desire a more public and a more dangerous field of ministration. Neither persuasion nor the threat of violence could induce him to remove.

In 1626, Dr Strang received the king’s patent, appointing him principal of the university of Glasgow, in place of Dr John Cameron, who resigned the charge and returned to France. At the same time he received an unanimous invitation from the masters of the university, but it was not till a second letter arrived from court, and till he had received many urgent solicitations, both from the university and the town, that he could be prevailed upon to accept the office. His modesty, as well as his prudence, seems to have inclined him to a refusal; and although, perhaps, with such commands laid upon him, he could not with a good grace resist, the subsequent part of his history leads to a be-

lief that he must have often looked back with regret. The duties incumbent on the principal of a university were at that period considerable; but his active mind led him to take a voluntary interest in everything connected either with the well-being of the university or of the town. Under his superintendence, the revenues of the former were greatly augmented,—the buildings on the north and east sides of the inner court, were begun and completed,—a large and stately orchard was formed,—and it is supposed that to his early and continued intimacy with Mr Zachary Boyd, the society was indebted for the large endowments which it received by his will. In the business of the presbytery, he also took an active part; and when sickness, or other causes, prevented the ministers of the town from occupying their pulpits, he willingly supplied their place.

Yet the performance of these duties, arduous as they unquestionably were, and most perseveringly continued for many years, was not enough to screen Dr Strang from the suspicion of belonging to that class which received the names of Malignants and Opposers of the work of reformation. A multiplicity of concurrent circumstances compelled the king, in 1638, to yield to a meeting of the General Assembly; and, from that period, the zeal of the presbyterians, like a flame long concealed, and almost smothered by confinement, burst forth into open air, as if in full consciousness of its strength and terrors. It may be sufficient to remark here, that their suspicions respecting Dr Strang were verified a few years afterwards, when, among the papers of the king, taken at the battle of Naseby, were discovered, “nine letters of Mr William Wilkie’s,¹ one of Dr Strang’s, and a treatise,” all of which had been addressed to the noted Dr Walter Balcanqual. These papers were for some time retained by the commissioners, as an instrument “to keep the persons that wrote them in awe, and as a mean to win them to a strict and circumspect carriage in their callings.” At length, however, they were sent down to Scotland, in 1646, with a desire that they might still be kept private for the same reasons. But neither the letter of Dr Strang, nor his treatise, so far as we can judge of its spirit from the introduction, (which Wodrow has inserted at full length,) can excite the smallest suspicion of the perfect integrity of his character. Like many other excellent men, he objected to the conduct of the presbyterians, not from any approbation of the measures of the king, of whose character, however, he had perhaps too good an opinion, but because “reason and philosophy recommendeth unto us a passing from our rights for peace sake.” This, and the possibility of obtaining “a perfect estate of God’s church, or the government thereof upon earth,” are in amount the arguments upon which he builds his objections to the covenant. He concludes his introduction, by protesting that his opinions were formed entirely upon information which was known to all; but, “if,” says he, “there be any greater mysteries, which are only communicated to few, as I am altogether ignorant thereof, so I am unable to judge of the same, but am alwise prone to judge charitably; and protest in God’s presence, that I have no other end herein, but God’s glory, and the conservation of truth and peace within this kingdom.” The treatise is entitled, “Reasons why all his Majesty’s orthodox Subjects, and namely those who subscribed the late Covenant, should thankfully acquiesce to his Majesty’s late Declaration and Proclamations; and especially touching the subscription of the Confession of Faith, and generall Band therein mentioned: with an Answer to the Reasons objected in the late Protestation to the contrary.”

But although the presbyterians might not be able to verify their suspicions respecting principal Strang, while his correspondence with Balcanqual remained unknown, there were points in his public conduct which were considered suf-

¹ Minister of Govan, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

sufficient to justify proceedings to a certain extent against him. "The spleen of many," writes Baillie, "against the principal in the Assembly [of 1639] was great, for many passages of his carriage in this affair, especially the last two: his subscribing that which we affirmed, and he denied, to be a protestation against elders, and so [against] our Assembly, consisting of them and ministers elected by their voices: also, his deserting the Assembly ever since the commissioner's departure, upon pretence that his commission being once cast, because it was four, the elector would not meet again to give him, or any other, a new commission. Every other day, some one or other, nobleman, gentleman, or minister, was calling that Dr Strang should be summoned; but by the diligence of his good friends, it was shifted, and at last, by this means, quite put by."² The Assembly, however, appointed a commission to visit and determine all matters respecting the university. "This," continues the writer, "was a terrible wand above their heads for a long time. Divers of them feared deposition. . . . We had no other intention, but to admonish them to do duty." From the account given by the same author of the proceedings of the Assembly of 1643, it appears that, at that period, the principal was still very unpopular with the more zealous noblemen and ministers; and if the account there given of the manner in which he managed the affairs of the college, and the stratagems by which he sometimes attempted to gain his ends, be correct, we have no hesitation in pronouncing him deservedly so. According to that statement, the chancellor, the rector, the vice-chancellor, dean of faculty, the rectors, assessors, and three of the regents, were not only all "at his devotion," but most of them "otherwise minded in the public affairs, than we did wish;" and an attempt was made to introduce a system, by which he should always be appointed commissioner from the university to the Assembly. Baillie was at bottom friendly to the principal, and his fears that any complaint made against him at the Assembly, might raise a storm which would not be easily allayed, induced him to be silent. He contented himself with obtaining a renewal of the commission for visiting the university. "This I intend," he says, "for a wand to threat, but to strike no man, if they will be pleased to live in any peaceable quietness, as it fears me their disaffection to the country's cause will not permit some of them to do."³ It must be confessed, however, that these statements of Baillie, written to a private friend, and probably never intended to meet the eye of the public, form a strange contrast to the general strain in which he has written the life of Strang, prefixed to his work on the interpretation of Scripture. In the latter it is declared, respecting this period of his life, that "he fell under the ill-will of some persons, without his doing anything to lay the ground of it. When such made a most diligent search into his privat and publick management, that they might have somewhat against him, he was found beyond reproach in his personall carriage, and in the discharge of his office; only in his dictats to his schollars, some few things were taken notice of, wherein he differed in his sentiments from Dr Twiss and Mr Rutherford in some scholastick speculations. He was not so much as blamed for any departure from the confession of any reformed church, . . . but, in a few questions, exceeding nice and difficult, as to God's providence about sin, he thought himself at liberty, modestly to differ in his sentiments from so many privat men." Yet the clamour thus raised against Dr Strang, however groundless in Baillie's estimation, was en-

² Baillie's printed Letters and Journals, i. 145. That the reader may understand the allusion to his commission, it is necessary to mention, that the university of Glasgow had nominated four commissioners to attend the Assembly; but the Assembly would not recognize their right to appoint more than one, and their commission was, therefore, annulled. *Ibid* i. 107.

³ Printed Letters and Journals, i. 378.

couraged by his adversaries, and became at length so great, that the General Assembly, in 1646, appointed commissioners to examine his dictates, which he was required to produce, and to report. Their report accordingly appears in the acts of the next Assembly, (August 1647,) and sets forth that the said dictates contained some things, "so expressed, that scruples have therefrom risen to grave and learned men; but after conference with the said doctor anent those scruples, and (having) heard his elucidations, both by word and writ, given to us, we were satisfied as to his orthodoxy; and, to remove all grounds of doubting as to his dictates, the doctor himself offered to us the addition of several words, for the further explication of his meaning, which also was acceptable to us."

But the peace which Dr Strang hoped to enjoy after the decision of this question, was not destined to be granted him. "Some turbulent persons envied his peace," and a new series of attacks, of which Baillie declines giving any account, because, to use his own strong expression, he would not "rake into a dunghill," followed. "The issue of these new attacks," he continues, was, the doctor, outraged by their molestations, demitted his office, and the rather that, in his old age, he inclined to have leisure, with a safe reputation, to revise and give his last hand to his writings. . . . To this his own proposall, the visitors of the colledge went in; but both the theologicall and philosophy faculty of the university opposed this, and, with the greatest reluctance, were at length brought to part with a colleague they so much honoured and loved." The visitors, by their demissory act, dated 19th April, 1650, granted him "a testimoniall of his orthodoxie;" and, as a proof of their affection, allowed him not only the whole of his salary for the year 1650, but an annuity of one thousand merks Scots from the funds of the university, and two hundred pounds more as often as circumstances would permit.

The remaining part of Dr Strang's life was spent in comparative quiet, although an expression of Baillie's would lead to a supposition that the malice of his enemies reached even to the withholding of the annuity just mentioned. "Having to do in Edinburgh with the lawyers, concerning the unjust trouble he was put to for his stipend," says he, "Dr Strang, after a few days' illness, did die so sweetly and graciously, as was satisfactory to all, and much applauded all over the city, his very persecutors giving him an ample testimony." That event took place on the 20th of June, 1654, when he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Two days afterwards, his body, followed by a great assemblage of persons of all ranks, was carried to the grave, and buried next to Robert Boyd of Trochrig, one of his predecessors in the professorship at Glasgow college.

Among the last labours of Dr Strang's life, was the revisal of his treatise, "*De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei circa peccatum*," which he enlarged, and made ready for the press. In the author's lifetime, it had been sent to his friend, Mr William Strang, minister of Middleburg, with a desire that the sentiments of the Dutch divines might be obtained respecting it. At his death, it was left to the charge of Dr Baillie, who got the MS. transcribed, and sent it to the same person. By Mr Strang it was sent to the famous Elzevirs at Amsterdam; and, having been carried through their press by the learned Mr Alexander More, was published at that place in 1657. The only other work of Dr Strang which we are aware of having been published, is entitled, "*De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturæ*," Rotterdam, 1663, 4to. To this work is prefixed the life of the author, by Baillie, to which we have already referred.

Dr Strang was thrice married, and had a numerous family, but few of his children survived. William, the only son who lived to majority, and "a youth of eminent piety and learning," was a regent in the university of Glasgow; but died of a hectic fever, at the age of twenty-two, before his father. He had four daughters, who survived him; all, according to Baillie, "eminent patterns of piety, prudence, and other virtues."⁵

STRANGE, (SIR) ROBERT, Knight, the father of the *line* manner of engraving in Britain, was born in the island of Pomona, in Orkney, July 14, 1721. He was lineally descended from Sir David Strange, or Strang, a younger son of the family of Strang of Balcaskie, in Fife, who had settled in Orkney at the time of the Reformation. He received a classical education at Kirkwall, under the care of Mr Murdoch Mackenzie, teacher there, and who rendered some estimable service to his country by accurate surveys of the Orkney islands, and of the British and Irish coasts.

The subject of this memoir successively applied himself to the law and to the sea, before his talent for sketching pointed out the propriety of his making art his profession. Some sketches shown by a friend to Mr Richard Cooper, an engraver of some eminence in Edinburgh, and approved by him, led to Mr Strange being placed under that individual as an apprentice; and the rapid progress he made in his new profession soon showed that he had only now for the first time fallen into the line of life for which he was destined by nature. He was practising his art in Edinburgh on his own account, when, in September, 1745, the Highland army took possession of the city. Mr Strange was not only himself well-inclined to this cause, but he had formed an attachment to a Miss Lumisden,¹ who had the same predilections. These circumstances, with his local notoriety as an engraver, pointed him out as a proper person to undertake a print of the young chevalier. While employed on this work, his lodgings in Stewart's Close were daily resorted to by the chief officers and friends of the prince, together with many of the most distinguished ladies attached to his cause. The portrait, when completed, was looked upon as a wonder of art; and it is still entitled to considerable praise. It was a half length in an oval frame on a stone pedestal, on which is engraved, "EVENSO MISSUS SUCCURRERE SECLQ." As a reward for his services, he was offered a place in the finance department of the prince's army, or, as another account states, in the troop of Life Guards; which, partly at the instigation of his mistress, who otherwise threatened to withdraw her favour from him, he accepted. He therefore served throughout the remainder of the campaign. Soon after the battle of Falkirk, while riding along the shore, the sword which he carried in his hand was bent by a ball from one of the king's vessels stationed a little way out at sea. Having surmounted all the perils of the enterprise, he had to skulk for his life in the Highlands, where he endured many hardships. On the restoration of quiet times, he ventured back to Edinburgh, and supported himself for some time by drawing portraits of the favourite Jacobite leaders, which were disposed of to the friends of the cause at a guinea each. A few, also, which he had destined for his mistress, and on that account adorned with the utmost of his skill, were sold about this period with a heavy heart to the earl of Wemyss, from whom, in better times, he vainly endeavoured to purchase them back. In 1747, he proceeded to London, but not be-

⁵ Abridged from Wodrow's *Life of Strang*, in his biographical MSS. in Bibl. Acad. Glasg., fol., vol. ii. See also, *Life* by Baillie, above mentioned. The extracts from the latter are borrowed from Wodrow's translation, inserted in his life.

¹ Sister to Mr Andrew Lumisden, a Jacobite partizan of some note, and who afterwards formed part of the household of prince Charles Stuart at Rome, of the antiquities of which city he published an account.

fore he had been rewarded for all his distresses by the fair hand of Miss Lumisden. Without waiting long in the metropolis, he went to Rouen, where a number of his companions in the late unfortunate war were living in exile, and where he obtained an honorary prize given by the academy. He afterwards resided for some time at Paris, where he studied with great assiduity under the celebrated Le Bas, who taught him the use of the dry needle. In 1751, he returned to London, and settled as an engraver, devoting himself chiefly to historical subjects, which he handled in so masterly a manner that he soon attracted considerable notice. In 1759, when he had resolved to visit Italy, for his further improvement, Mr Allan Ramsay intimated to him that it would be agreeable to the prince of Wales and the earl of Bute, if he would undertake the engraving of two portraits which he had just painted for those eminent personages. Mr Strange refused, on the plea of his visit to Italy, which would thus be put off for a considerable time, and he is said to have thus lost the favour of the royal preceptor, which was afterwards of material disadvantage to him, although the king ultimately approved of his conduct, on the ground that the portraits were not worthy, as works of art, of being commemorated by him.

Mr Strange set out for Italy in 1760, and in the course of his tour visited Naples, Florence, and other distinguished seats of the arts. He was everywhere treated with the utmost attention and respect by persons of every rank. He was made a member of the academies of Rome, Florence, and Bologna, and professor of the royal academy at Parma. His portrait was introduced by Rofanelli, amongst those of other distinguished engravers, into a painting on the ceiling of that room in the Vatican library where the engravings are kept. He had also the distinguished honour of being permitted to erect a scaffold in one of the rooms of that magnificent palace for the purpose of taking a drawing of the Parnassus of Raphael; a favour not previously granted for many years to any petitioning artist. And an apartment was assigned for his own abode, while engaged in this employment. A similar honour was conferred upon him at the palace of the king of Naples, where he wished to copy a celebrated painting by Schidoni. Mr Strange's drawings were in coloured crayons; an invention of his own, and they were admired by all who saw them. He subsequently engraved prints on a splendid scale from about fifty of the paintings which he had thus copied in Italy.²

The subsequent part of the life of Mr Strange was spent in London, where he did not acquire the favour of the court till 1787, when he was knighted. A letter by him to lord Bute, reflecting on some instances of persecution which he thought he traced to that nobleman, appeared in 1775 and was subsequently

² The following are among the principal engravings by Sir Robert Strange:—Two heads of himself, one an etching, the other a finished proof; The Return from Market by Wouvermans; Cupid by Vanloo; Mary Magdalen; Cleopatra; the Madonna; the Angel Gabriel; the Virgin with the child asleep; Liberality and Modesty, by Guido; Apollo rewarding merit and punishing arrogance, by Andrea Sacchi; the Finding of Romulus and Remus, by Pietro de Cortona; Caesar repudiating Pompeia, by the same; Three children of Charles I., by Vandyke; Belisarius, by Salvator Rosa; St Agnes, by Domenichino; the Judgment of Hercules, by Nicolas Poussin; Venus attired by the Graces, by Guido; Justice and Meekness, by Raphael; the Offspring of Love, by Guido; Cupid Sleeping, by the same; Abraham giving up the handmaid Hagar, by Guercino; Esther, a suppliant before Ahasuerus, by the same; Joseph and Potiphar's wife, by Guido; Venus, by the same; Danae, by the same; Portrait of Charles I. by Vandyke; the Madonna, by Corregio; St Cecilia, by Raphael; Mary Magdalen, by Guido; Our Saviour appearing to his Mother after his resurrection, by Guercino; A Mother and Child, by Parmegiano; Cupid Meditating, by Schidoni; Laomedon, king of Troy, detected by Neptune and Apollo, by Salvator Rosa. Sir Robert, near the close of his life, formed about eighty reserved proof copies of his best prints into as many volumes, to which he added a general title-page, and an introduction on the progress of engraving.

prefixed to an "Inquiry into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy at London," which was provoked from his pen by a law of that institution against the admission of engravings into the exhibitions. After a life spent in the active exercise of his professional talents, he died of an asthmatical complaint on the 5th of July, 1792, leaving, besides his lady, a daughter and three sons. Sir Robert has been described by his surviving friends, as one of the most amiable and virtuous of men, as he was unquestionably among the most able in his own peculiar walk. He was unassuming, benevolent, and liberal. His industry was equally remarkable with his talent. In the coldest seasons, when health permitted him, he went to work with the dawn, and the longest day was too short to fatigue his hand. Even the most mechanical parts of his labours he would generally perform himself, choosing rather to undergo a drudgery so unsuitable to his talents than trust to others. His remains were interred in Covent Garden church-yard.

STUART, MARY, Queen of Scots, daughter of James V., and Mary of Guise, was born in the palace of Linlithgow, December 7, 1542. Her father was on his death-bed at Falkland, when her birth was announced to him; and in seven days after that event, he expired, bitterly regretting, in his dying moments, that it was a female, and not a male child, that had been born to him. The young queen having been removed to Stirling, was there solemnly crowned by cardinal Beaton, on the 9th of September, 1543, while she was yet only nine months old. The two first years of the infant princess's life were spent at Linlithgow, under the immediate charge of her mother, and, more remotely, under that of commissioners appointed by parliament, on the part of the nation, to watch over the tender years of their future sovereign. During her residence here, she was attacked with small pox; but the disease was of so mild a nature, as to leave no trace behind.

The three following years, she spent at Stirling, under the superintendence of the lords Erskine and Livingstone. At the end of this period, she was removed to Inchmahome, a small island in the lake of Menteith, in Perthshire. The disturbed state of the country had rendered this measure necessary, as a precaution against any attempts which might be made to get possession of her person; and it was thought, that the remote and sequestered isle to which she was now sent, offered a greater degree of security than could be found, even from the wards and defences of a fortress.

To divert the young princess in her solitary residence, four young ladies of rank were chosen by her mother, the queen dowager, to accompany her. These ladies were, Mary Beaton, niece of cardinal Beaton; Mary Fleming, daughter of lord Fleming; Mary Livingstone, daughter of one of the young queen's guardians; and Mary Seaton, daughter of lord Seaton. Whether it was by chance or by design, that these four ladies bore the same surname with the queen, is not now known; but they have since been distinguished by the conjunctive appellation of the *FOUR MARIES*, and as such are celebrated in history.

In this island, Mary resided for upwards of four years; when, agreeably to an intention which had been early entertained regarding her, she was sent to France, to receive the refined education which that country then, above all others, was capable of affording. The young queen, now in her sixth year, embarked at Dumbarton on board of a French ship, which, accompanied by several other vessels of that nation, had been sent to the Clyde to receive her.

On her arrival at Brest, which she reached on the 14th of August, 1548, after a tempestuous and tedious voyage of nearly three weeks' duration, she was received, by the orders of the French monarch, Henry II., with all the marks

of respect due to her exalted station ; and was soon afterwards sent, with the king's own daughters, to one of the most celebrated monasteries in France, to receive such an education as should become the future queen.

Remarkable as was the beauty of Mary's person, it was not more worthy of admiration than her intellectual superiority. In all the various and numerous branches of education in which she was instructed, she made rapid progress, and attained in all a proficiency that excited universal admiration. She rode fearlessly and gracefully, and in dancing was unrivalled, even at the gay and refined court of Henry II.

Caressed and admired by all, and surrounded by every enjoyment within the reach of humanity, the earlier part of Mary's life glided rapidly away, while she herself, in her person, gradually advanced towards that perfection of beauty, which is to this hour matter of interesting speculation, and which she seems to have possessed in the highest degree of which, perhaps, the human form is susceptible.

A desire long entertained by Mary's mother, the queen dowager, and Henry of France, to unite the interests of the two kingdoms, had early produced a contract of marriage between Francis, the young dauphin, and the Scottish queen. This contract, Henry now thought it full time to consummate, and the youthful pair were accordingly united. The nuptials took place on the 24th of April, 1558. Mary was then in the sixteenth year of her age, and her husband but little older. The ceremony, which was celebrated with great pomp, was attended, amongst others, by the lord James, prior of St Andrews, and other eight persons of distinction, from Scotland, who had been deputed for that purpose by the parliament of that kingdom.

Mary, already queen of Scotland, and heir presumptive of England, was now, by her marriage to the dauphin, queen consort apparent of France ; a concentration of dignities which perhaps never before occurred in one person. The last of these honours was realized, but only for a short period. In 1559, a year after her marriage, her husband, the dauphin, succeeded to the throne, by the death of his father ; but in another year afterwards, in 1560, he died, while yet only in the seventeenth year of his age.

Mary's husband was not, either in mental attainments, or personal appearance, at all equal to his beautiful and accomplished wife ; he was, besides, of a weakly and sickly habit of body, but he appears to have been of a mild and affectionate disposition ; and there is every reason to believe that he was sincerely beloved by his royal consort.

On the death of her husband, Mary was invited to return to Scotland, in order to undertake the government. Political motives seconding this invitation, she complied with it, and, in August, 1561, sailed from the harbour of Calais, and on the 21st of the same month, arrived safely at Leith. Her reception in her native land, was warm and enthusiastic ; and although she soon discovered many things to increase her respect for the country she had left, she yet fully appreciated the sincerity with which she was welcomed.

The period of Mary's arrival in Scotland was singularly inauspicious for a sovereign educated as she had been in devoted attachment to the faith which her Scottish subjects had just abjured. The reformed religion had gradually advanced from small beginnings, amidst great opposition, until it had now attained a parliamentary establishment. Mary had been taught to regard the late proceedings of her Scottish subjects in the light of rebellion against her lawful authority. Before she left France her mind was filled with prejudices against the reformed faith and its promoters. She came to Scotland prepared to subvert the reformation. The reformers apprehended such an attempt on the part of Mary and her French cour-

tiers; and, amidst the enthusiastic loyalty expressed on the occasion of her arrival by all ranks of the people, it is not surprising that every opportunity was taken to impress the queen's mind with a sense of the value which her subjects attached to their new-born liberties. Knox and the other leading reformers, who have been censured for their uncompromising deportment towards their sovereign, were, in addition, influenced by a just regard for their personal safety, which could not fail to be seriously compromised in the event of popery regaining its ascendancy in Scotland. The recent history of France, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and England, bore testimony to the perfidious and truculent foe with which they had to contend in the Romish church. "The rage for conquest on the continent (remarks Dr Mc'Crie) was now converted into a rage for proselytism; and steps had already been taken towards forming that league among the popish princes, which had for its object the universal extermination of protestants. The Scottish queen was passionately addicted to the intoxicating cup of which so many of 'the kings of the earth had drunk.' There were numbers in the nation who were similarly disposed. The liberty taken by the queen would soon be demanded for all who declared themselves catholics. Many of those who had hitherto ranged under the protestant standard were lukewarm in the cause; the zeal of others had already suffered a sensible abatement since the arrival of their sovereign; and it was to be feared that the favours of the court, and the blandishments of an artful and accomplished princess, would make proselytes of some, and lull others into security, while designs were carried on pregnant with ruin to the religion and liberties of the nation." On the first Sunday after her arrival, Mary was so ill-advised as to have mass celebrated in the chapel at Holyrood, on which occasion her attendants received some rough treatment at the hands of the people. John Knox denounced the observance of mass as idolatry, in the pulpit on the succeeding Sabbath. Two days afterwards, the queen sent for Knox to the palace, and held a long conversation with him in the presence of her brother, the prior of St Andrews, afterwards earl of Murray. She plied all her blandishments to soften the reformer; failing in which she resorted to threats, in the hope of overawing him. The firmness of the reformer was as immovable as his faith was inflexible, and both were proof against the smiles and tears of the youthful princess. On taking leave of her majesty, Knox said, "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

Mary soon afterwards made her first public entry into Edinburgh. Mounted on her palfrey, and suitably escorted, she proceeded up the High Street to the castle, where a banquet was prepared for her. The reception she met with from the citizens was extremely gratifying, notwithstanding the somewhat obtrusive manner in which many of them indicated their contempt for her religion, and their resolution to defend their own. In a subsequent progress through Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, St Andrews, and the neighbouring districts, she was welcomed with high-hearted loyalty, such as the Scottish nation never withheld from Mary or her descendants so long as they respected the religious principles and political liberties of the people. On one occasion, during the royal tour, some public demonstration of the reformers moved the queen to tears. On her return to Edinburgh she evinced a disposition to check the practice of publicly insulting her faith. Within a few days after her arrival, the civil authorities issued a proclamation, proscribing the "wicked rabble of the antichrist of the pope," and ordering them to withdraw from the bounds of the town, within four and twenty hours, under pain of carting through the streets, burning on the cheek, and perpetual banishment. Mary, however, did not allow this invasion of her authority to pass with the same impunity which she

had permitted in some other instances of a similar kind. She ordered the town council to deprive the provost and bailties instantly of their offices, and to elect others in their stead.

All the French friends who had accompanied her to Scotland, excepting her uncle, the marquis D'Elbeuf, disgusted with the treatment which they met with from the reformers, now returned to their own country; and the young and inexperienced queen was thus left nearly alone, to maintain the elevated and dangerous position in which hereditary right had placed her, against the stormy and conflicting interests and passions of those by whom she was surrounded. She was now thrown upon her own resources, and, at a most critical period, left to rely wholly upon the firmness and energy of her own character, to carry her through the arduous part which destiny had assigned her.

The fame of Mary's beauty and accomplishments, as was naturally to be expected, procured her many suitors, not only amongst her own nobility, but amongst foreign princes. She, however, declined all addresses of this nature, and resolved, in the mean time at least, to remain as she was: a resolution, which it had been well for the unfortunate queen she had always adhered to.

In the month of August, 1562, little of any interest having occurred in the interval, Mary set out on a progress through the northern part of her dominions, accompanied by her brother, the earl of Murray, and a numerous train of nobles and attendants. On this expedition she spent three months, when she again returned to Edinburgh. The two following years, viz., 1563 and 1564, were undistinguished by any public event of importance, and were, on that account, probably the happiest that Mary ever spent in her native land.

Though no circumstance of national consequence, however, occurred during this period, one of a singular and melancholy interest did take place. This was the execution of the young French poet, Chatelard. This unfortunate gentleman, who was attached to Mary's court, had fallen wildly and desperately in love with his royal mistress. He wrote numerous verses to her; and, encouraged by the unreflecting approbation with which they were received, and mistaking the good-natured courtesy of Mary for a return of his passion, he madly intruded himself into her bed-room. Here he was discovered by her maids of honour; but, after being severely reprimanded by the queen for his audacity, was allowed, from a natural feeling of lenity, as it was his first offence, to escape further punishment. Undeterred by the imminence of the danger to which he had been exposed, and of which he must have been fully aware, Chatelard, in two nights afterwards, again entered the queen's bed-chamber. On this occasion, it was at Dunfermline, where Mary had stopped for one night on her way to St Andrews. Highly incensed by the young man's insolent pertinacity, Mary, after having in vain ordered him to quit her apartment, called out for assistance, and was instantly attended by the earl of Murray, who happened to be within hearing. The unfortunate Chatelard was immediately taken into custody, tried at St Andrews, condemned to death, and executed on the 22nd of February, 1563. Before laying his head on the block, which he did with the utmost composure, he turned towards the house in which the queen lodged, and where he presumed her at the moment to be, and exclaimed, "Farewell, loveliest and most cruel princess whom the world contains!"

Mary, if she had not hitherto enjoyed positive happiness, had at least been free from any very serious annoyances, since her accession to the throne. This comparative quiet, however, was now about to be disturbed, and the long series of miseries and misfortunes, which render her history so remarkable, were on the eve of assailing her. These began with her unfortunate marriage to

Darnley, an event which took place on the 29th of July, 1565. The ceremony was performed in the chapel of Holyrood, on a Sunday, between the hours of five and six in the morning.

Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, at the time of his marriage, was in the nineteenth year of his age; Mary in her twenty-third. The former was the son of Matthew, earl of Lennox, and of the lady Margaret Douglas, niece of Henry VIII. Even at this early period of his life, Darnley was esteemed one of the handsomest men of his time; but, unfortunately, there was little correspondence between the qualities of his person and his mind. He was weak, obstinate, and wayward, possessing scarcely one redeeming trait, unless it were a simplicity, or rather imbecility, which rendered him an easy dupe to the designing.

Amongst the first evil results which this unfortunate connexion produced to Mary, was the hostility of her brother, the earl of Murray, who foresaw that the new character of a king consort would greatly lessen, if not entirely put an end to, the almost regal power and influence which he enjoyed whilst his sister remained single. Impressed with this feeling, he had, at an early period, not only expressed his displeasure at the proposed marriage, but, in concert with some other nobles, whom he had won over to his interest, had taken measures for seizing on the queen's person, whilst she was travelling between Perth and Edinburgh. Being earlier on the road, however, and better guarded than the conspirators expected, she reached the latter place without experiencing any interruption; and in a few days afterwards, her union with Darnley took place.

On the 15th of August, 1565, seventeen days after the celebration of the queen's marriage, Murray, who now stood forward as an open and declared enemy, summoned his partizans to meet him, attended by their followers, armed, at Ayr, on the 24th of the same month. To oppose this rebel force, Mary mustered an army of five thousand men, and, with a spirit worthy of her high descent, placing herself in the midst of her troops, equipped in a suit of light armour, with pistols at her saddle bow, she marched from Edinburgh to the westward, in quest of the rebel forces.

Murray, who had been able to raise no more than twelve hundred men, finding himself unable to cope with the queen, retired from place to place, closely pursued by the royal forces. Being finally driven to Carlisle, whither he was still followed by Mary, with an army now increased to eighteen thousand men, his troops there dispersed, and he himself and his friends, abandoning their cause as hopeless, fled to the English court.

This triumph of Mary's, however, in place of securing her the quiet which might have been expected to result from it, seemed merely to have opened a way for the admission of other miseries, not less afflicting than that which had been removed. Murray, and the other lords who had joined him in his rebellious attempt, though now at a distance, and under a sentence of expatriation, still continued their machinations, and endeavoured to secure, by plot and contrivance, that which they had failed to obtain by force. In these attempts they found a ready co-operator in the earl of Morton, who, though entertaining every good-will to their cause, having taken no open part in their rebellious measures, was now amongst the few counsellors whom Mary had left to her. Working on the vanity and weakness of Darnley, Morton succeeded in inducing him to join a conspiracy, which had for its object the restoration of the banished lords, and the wresting from, or at least putting under such restraints as they should think fit, the authority of the queen. Tempted by promises of undivided sway, that imbecile prince, slighting the ties of natural affection, and forgetting

all the kindnesses and honours which his wife had heaped upon him, became an active partizan in a plot devised against her interest, her dignity, and her happiness. There was, however, one person whose fidelity to the queen made him sufficiently dangerous to render it necessary, for the safety of all, that he should be removed out of the way. This was David Rizzio, Mary's secretary. Sincerely interested in the safety and honour of his royal mistress, he was known to have exerted his influence with her, against those who had aimed at depriving her of her authority; and he was also known to have exerted that influence to prevent her yielding up too much of that authority to Darnley. Being thus equally detested by both, and generally unpopular on account of his religion and his country, and for the high estimation in which he was held by the queen, his destruction was determined upon.

On the evening of the 9th of March, 1565, the conspirators, headed by lord Ruthven, entered the queen's chamber, whilst she was at supper with several of her household, including Rizzio. On their entering, the queen indignantly demanded the meaning of this intrusion. This they soon explained; and immediately proceeded to attack their victim with their drawn weapons. Rizzio, by taking shelter behind the queen, for some time escaped the blows of the assassins, but was at length stabbed in the side over the queen's shoulder, and immediately after dragged into an adjoining apartment, and despatched with no fewer than fifty-six wounds. Immediately after the assassination, Darnley and Morton placed the queen in ward; and, on the following morning, issued a proclamation, in the king's name, proroguing the parliament, which was then sitting, and which had discovered such a disposition in favour of the queen, as rendered it highly dangerous. In the evening of the same day, Murray, with the other banished lords, returned from England.

At this critical period, the vacillating Darnley, unable to pursue any course, whether for good or evil, steadily, began to repent of the part he was acting, and allowed himself to be persuaded by Mary, not only to desert his accomplices, but to assist and accompany her in making her escape from Holyrood. Attended only by the captain of the guard and two other persons, Mary and her husband left the palace at midnight for Dunbar, to which they rode without stopping. Here the queen found herself, in the course of a few days, surrounded by the half of her nobility, and at the head of a powerful army. With these she returned, after an absence of only five days, in triumph to Edinburgh, where she was again reinstated in full and uncontrolled authority. The conspirators, unable to offer the slightest resistance, fled in all directions; while their leaders, Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay, sought safety in Newcastle. Mary had, a few days before, with not an unwise policy, lessened the number of her enemies, and increased that of her friends, by receiving Murray, and several others of those who had been associated with him, into favour; and, therefore, now again enjoyed the benefit of the judicious counsel of her able, but ambitious brother.

Soon after the occurrence of the events just related, Mary became aware of the near approach of the hour which was to make her a mother. In the anticipation of this event, she took up her abode, by the advice of her privy council, in the castle of Edinburgh, where, on the 19th of June, 1566, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, she was delivered of a son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England.

The intelligence of Mary's accouchement was received with the utmost joy throughout the whole kingdom. In Edinburgh, it amounted to enthusiasm. All the nobles in the city, accompanied by the greater part of the citizens, went in solemn procession to the high church, and returned thanks to the Al-

mightily for bestowing a prince upon them, and for the mercy which had been extended to their queen. This impressive ceremony was followed by three entire days of continued revelry and triumph.

After her recovery, the queen proceeded on an excursion through various parts of the country; and again returned to Edinburgh on the 11th or 12th of September, having previously placed the infant prince in charge of the earl and lady Mar.

From this period, the page of Mary's history rapidly darkens; and it is now that her enemies assail her character, and that her friends find themselves called upon to defend it. Each have written volumes, in their turn, to establish her guilt or her innocence, but hitherto without approaching to anything like complete success on either side.

At the suggestion of the earl of Bothwell, now one of the most active of Mary's officers of state, the privy council submitted to Mary, then (December, 1566) residing at Craigmillar castle, the proposal that she should divorce her husband Darnley, to whom she had now been married about a year and a half. There were sufficient reasons, both of a public and personal nature, to make such a proposal neither singular nor unwarrantable. Darnley's intellectual incapacity rendered him wholly unfit for his situation; and his wayward temper had wrecked the happiness of his wife. But the proposal originated in neither of these considerations. It was the first step of the new ambition of Bothwell, which aimed at the hand of his sovereign. Mary refused to accede to the proposal, alleging, amongst other considerations, that such a proceeding might prejudice the interests of her son. This resolution, however, in place of diverting Bothwell from his daring project, had the effect only of driving him to a more desperate expedient to accomplish it. He now resolved that Darnley should die. Attended by a band of accomplices, he proceeded, at midnight, on Sunday, the 9th of February, 1567, to the Kirk of Field house, situated near to where the college of Edinburgh now stands, and where Darnley, who was at the time unwell, had taken up a temporary residence. The mode of his death had been matter of some discussion previously, but it had been finally determined that it should be accomplished by the agency of gunpowder. A large quantity of that material had been, therefore, secretly introduced into the chamber beneath that in which Darnley slept. This, on the night spoken of, was fired by a match applied by the assassins, but which burnt slowly enough to allow of themselves escaping to a safe distance; and in a few minutes, the house, with all its inmates, including Darnley, was totally destroyed.

For some time after the murder, vague and contradictory surmises regarding the assassins, filled the kingdom. Suspicion, however, at length became so strong against the true perpetrator, that, at the instigation of Darnley's father, the earl of Lennox, he was brought to a public trial. Bothwell, however, was too powerful a man, and had too many friends amongst the nobility, to fear for the result. He had provided for such an occurrence. On the day of trial, no one appeared to prosecute him, and he was acquitted. Thus far the dark and daring projects of Bothwell had been successful, and he now hurried on to the consummation of his guilty career.

On the 20th of April, little more than two months after the assassination of Darnley, Bothwell procured the signatures of a number of the nobility to a document setting forth, first, his innocence of that crime; secondly, the necessity of the queen's immediately entering again into the married state; and, lastly, recommending James, earl of Bothwell, as a fit person to become her husband. In two or three days after this, Mary left Edinburgh for Stirling, on a visit to her infant son; and as she was returning from thence, she

was waylaid by Bothwell, accompanied by a troop of a thousand men, all well mounted, at a bridge which crosses the river Almond, within a mile of Linkithgow. Mary, when she encountered Bothwell, was attended by but a slight retinue, and by only three persons of note; these were the earl of Huntly, secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville. Bothwell having dismissed all her attendants, with the exception of the three last, seized the bridle of Mary's horse, and immediately after the whole cavalcade proceeded with their utmost speed to Dunbar, one of Bothwell's castles. Here Mary was detained for ten days, during which time Bothwell had succeeded in obtaining her consent to espouse him. At the end of this period, the queen and her future husband returned to Edinburgh, and in a few weeks afterwards were married, Bothwell having previously obtained a divorce from his wife, the lady Jane Gordon, and a formal pardon, before the lords of session, from Mary herself, for his having seized upon her person. With regard to these transactions, thus briefly narrated, much has been said of the determined, unprincipled, and ferocious character of Bothwell, and much of the helplessness of the condition to which Mary was reduced; but it cannot be denied that they present still a startling appearance, even after all that has been said to explain away what part of them affects the character of Mary.

Bothwell, however, did not long enjoy the success of his villany: his own ruin, and that of his unfortunate partner, speedily followed their unhappy connexion.

Disgusted with the insolence of his manner, and not improbably disappointed in the hopes which they had entertained from his elevation, a number of those very lords who had assisted him to attain it, together with many others, took up arms to displace him.

On learning the designs of his enemies, Bothwell hastily collected at Dunbar a force of 2000 men, and with these marched towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June, 1567. The hostile lords, with an army somewhat less in number, marched from the latter city to meet him, and on the 15th, the two armies came in sight of each other, Bothwell's troops occupying Carberry hill, a rising ground to the east of Musselburgh. Neither army evincing much inclination to come to blows, negotiations were entered into, and the final result of these was, that Mary, who had accompanied Bothwell to the field, offered to deliver herself up to the opposite party, on condition, that they would conduct her safely to Edinburgh, and thereafter yield obedience to her authority. This being agreed to, she prevailed upon her husband to quit the field, and, conducted by Kirkcaldy of Grange, presented herself before the hostile lords, and claimed their protection. Mary was now conducted into Edinburgh, but with little respect either to her rank, her sex, or her feelings. Insulted by the rabble as she passed along, and dissolved in tears, she was taken to the house of the provost, instead of the palace, a circumstance which added greatly to her distress. Dreading a re-action of the popular feeling towards the queen, which, indeed, shortly afterwards took place, Mary's captors, for they now stood in that position, conveyed her on the evening of the following day, to Holyrood, and at midnight, hurried her away on horseback to the castle of Lochleven, situated on a small island in a lake of that name in Fifeshire, and placed her in charge of lady Douglas, mother of the earl of Murray by James V., a woman of haughty and austere manners and disposition.

This extreme proceeding towards the unhappy queen was in little more than a month afterwards followed by another still more decisive and humiliating.

On the 24th of July, 1567, lord Lindsay and Sir Robert Lindsay, deputed by the lords of Secret Council, proceeded to Lochleven, and by threats of per-

sonal violence, compelled Mary to sign a deed of abdication, a proceeding which was soon after followed by the election of Murray to the regency.

Bothwell, in the mean time, after some ineffectual attempts to regain his lost authority, retired to his estates in the north, but being pursued thither by Grange and Tullibardine, he embarked for Denmark. Ruthless and desperate in all his proceedings, he attempted, on his way thither, to replenish his exhausted finances by piracy. The intelligence of his robberies reaching Denmark, several ships were despatched from that country in quest of him, and in a very short time he was taken and carried a prisoner into a Danish port. On his landing he was thrown into prison, where he remained for many years, and finally ended his days in misery and neglect. Such was the fate of the proud, ambitious, and wicked Bothwell, the husband of Mary, queen of Scotland.

Though Mary's fortunes were at this low ebb, and though her enemies were both numerous and powerful, she had still many friends, who waited anxiously and impatiently for an opportunity of asserting her rights and avenging her wrongs; and for such an opportunity, although attended with an unsuccessful result, they were not called upon to wait long.

On the 25th of March, 1568, about nine months after she had been imprisoned in Lochleven castle, an attempt was made, by the assistance of George Douglas, a relation of the family of Lochleven, who resided in the castle, to effect Mary's escape in the disguise of a laundress. She was, however, discovered by the boatmen, who had been employed to convey her to the shore, and carried back to the castle. In about a month afterwards, the attempt was again made, but now under the auspices of William Douglas, a young man of sixteen years of age, a relation of the Douglas family, and also a resident on the island. Douglas, having purloined the keys of the fortress, liberated the captive princess, May 2nd, and, conducting her to a boat which was in readiness to receive her, conveyed her to the shore. Here she was met, with the most lively expressions of joy and loyal affection, by a number of her nobility, who, having been previously informed of the design, were anxiously awaiting her arrival. Placing the queen on horseback, the whole party instantly set off at full speed for Hamilton, where they arrived on the following forenoon.

The intelligence of Mary's escape, and of the place of her temporary abode, rapidly spread throughout the whole kingdom, and nobles and troops instantly poured in from all quarters to her assistance. In a few days Mary found herself at the head of a formidable army, and surrounded by the greater part of her nobility. She now solemnly and publicly protested that her abdication had been compulsory, and therefore not valid, and called upon Murray, who was then at Glasgow, to surrender his regency. This he refused to do, and both parties prepared for hostilities.

On Thursday the 13th of May, Murray, who was still at Glasgow, having learned that the queen, with her forces, were on their way to Dumbarton, where it was proposed by the friends of the former that she should be lodged, as being a place of greater safety than Hamilton, he hastily assembled an army of 4000 men, and marched out to a place called Langside, about three miles distant from the city, to intercept her. The hostile armies soon came in sight of each other, and a battle followed, fatal to the hopes of Mary. The main body of the queen's army was led by the earl of Argyle, the van by Claud Hamilton, second son of the duke of Chatelherault, and the cavalry by lord Herries. Murray himself led on the main body of the opposing forces, and the earl of Morton the van.

Mary, on perceiving that the day had gone against her, (for she had witnessed the contest from a neighbouring height,) instantly took to horse, and,

accompanied by lord Herries and a few other trusty friends, rode off at full speed, nor ever drew bridle until she had reached Dundrennan Abbey in Galloway, sixty miles distant from the field of battle. Here she remained for two days, uncertain whither to proceed. Resolving at length to throw herself on the protection of Elizabeth, she embarked, with a train of eighteen or twenty persons, on board a fishing boat, and sailing along the shore until she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, was there landed with her suite. From Workington she proceeded to Cockermouth, twenty-six miles distant from Carlisle, where she was met by the deputy of the warden of these frontiers and a number of gentlemen of rank and respectability, and conducted with every mark of respect to the castle of Carlisle. This honourable treatment, however, was but of short duration. Mary was now in the hands of her bitterest and most inveterate enemy, Elizabeth, and though not yet aware of it, the conviction of its truth was very soon forced upon her. From Carlisle Mary was, by Elizabeth's orders, removed to Bolton, where she was strictly guarded, and forbidden to hold any communication with her Scottish subjects. Elizabeth had previously refused to admit Mary to a personal interview, alleging, that she was under a suspicion of having been accessory to the murder of Darnley, and that, until her innocence of that crime was established, she could not afford her any countenance, or bestow upon her any mark of favour. Affecting an anxiety for Mary's honour, Elizabeth now proposed that an examination of evidence should be gone into, to prove either the truth or falsehood of the allegation. Three sets of commissioners were accordingly appointed for this purpose, one by Elizabeth, as umpires or judges, one by Murray and his party as defenders, and one by Mary as plaintiff. These met at York on the 4th of October, 1568, bestowing upon their proceedings the gentle name of *Conference*.

From York the Conference, unattended yet with any decisive result, was removed to Westminster, where it was again resumed, and finally, after several disingenuous proceedings on the part both of Elizabeth and Murray's commissioners, was brought to a close without being terminated. Without any conclusive or satisfactory evidence of her guilt, or any decision having been pronounced on the evidence which had been led, Mary was, though not formally, yet virtually condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The unfortunate queen was now moved from castle to castle as notions of caprice or fancied security dictated, and with diminished comforts and enjoyments at each remove, until she was finally stripped, not only of all personal liberty, but of every consolation which could make life endurable. Her letters of remonstrance to Elizabeth under this treatment are pathetic in the last degree, but they had no effect upon her to whom they were addressed. For eighteen years the severities to which she was exposed were left not only uninvestigated, but were gradually increased to the end of her unhappy career.

On the 25th of September, 1586, Mary was removed from Chantly to the castle of Fetheringay, with a view to her being brought to trial before a commission appointed by Elizabeth, on a charge of having abetted a conspiracy, in which the chief actor was one Anthony Babington, and which had for its object the assassination of Elizabeth and the liberation of the captive queen. The trial commenced on the 15th of October, but was afterwards adjourned to the Star Chamber at Westminster, where on the 25th of the same month it was finally adjudged that "Mary, commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France, was accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and had compassed and imagined divers matters within the realm of England, leading to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of Elizabeth, in opposition to the statute formed for her protection." Mary had been charged with abetting a

number of minor plots during the previous term of her captivity, and one in especial set on foot by the duke of Norfolk, who had not only aimed at restoring her to liberty, but had looked forward to the obtaining her hand. Norfolk's designs were discovered, and he perished on the scaffold. Elizabeth's parliament now, therefore, alleged, that their sovereign's security was incompatible with Mary's life, and urged her to give effect to the sentence of the Star Chamber, by ordering her immediate execution.

Elizabeth affected to feel the utmost reluctance to proceed to the extremity recommended by the councillors, but at length gave way to their importunity, and signed the warrant for her unfortunate captive's execution, and a commission was given to the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby and others, to see it carried into effect. Aware of her approaching fate, for the sentence of the commissioners had been early conveyed to her, with an intimation to prepare for the result, Mary calmly awaited its consummation, without stooping to any meanness to avert it, or discovering the slightest dread in its contemplation.

The fatal hour at length arrived. On the 7th of February, 1537, the earls who were appointed to superintend her execution arrived at Fotheringay, and requesting an audience of Mary, informed her of the purpose for which they came, and that her execution would take place on the following morning at eight o'clock. Mary heard the dreadful intelligence without discovering the slightest trepidation. She said she had long been expecting the manner of her death, and was not unprepared to die. Having, with the utmost composure and self-possession, arranged all her worldly affairs, she retired to bed about two in the morning; but, though she lay for some hours, she slept none. At break of day she arose, and surrounded by her weeping domestics, resumed her devotions. She was thus employed when a messenger knocked at the door to announce that all was ready, and in a short time afterwards, the sheriff, bearing in his hand the white wand of office, entered her apartment to conduct her to the place of execution.

Mary was now led into the hall in which her trial had taken place, and which had been previously fitted up for the dreadful scene about to be enacted. A scaffold and block, covered with black cloth, rose at the upper end, and on one side of the latter stood the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, on the other, two executioners. Having ascended the scaffold, which she did with a dignity and composure that rather increased than diminished as her fate approached, Mary prepared for the fatal stroke. After spending a short time in prayer, she desired Jane Kennedy, one of two female attendants, for whom she had with difficulty obtained the melancholy privilege of accompanying her to the scaffold, to bind her eyes with a handkerchief which she had brought with her for the purpose. This done, she laid her head on the block, and the axe of the executioner descended. The severed head was immediately held up by the hair, which was now observed to have become grey, by the executioner's assistant, who called out "God save Elizabeth, queen of England!" To this sentence the earl of Kent added, "Thus perish all her enemies!"

Mary's remains were embalmed and buried in the cathedral at Peterborough, but, twenty-five years afterwards, were removed by her son James VI. to Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey. She was at the time of her death in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity. Time and grief had greatly impaired the symmetry and beauty of her person; yet her figure, even at the hour of her death, was one of matchless elegance. Still mindful of her dignity, of her high birth, and of what she once had been,

the unfortunate queen appeared upon the scaffold, arrayed in her best and most splendid attire, and her whole conduct throughout the trying scene was marked with the noble bearing and unshaken fortitude of a heroine. Mary never for a moment forgot that she was queen of Scotland, and she died with a magnanimity worthy of the title.

STUART, JAMES, Earl of Murray, celebrated in Scottish history by the title of the "Good Regent," was an illegitimate son of James V., by Margaret Erskine, daughter of John, fourth lord Erskine. The precise year of his birth, is not certainly known; but there is good reason for believing that this event took place in 1533. Agreeably to the policy which James V. pursued with regard to all his sons,—that of providing them with benefices in the church, while they were yet in infancy, that he might appropriate their revenues during their nonage,—the priory of St Andrews was assigned to the subject of this memoir, when he was only in his third year.

Of the earlier years of his life, we have no particulars; neither have we any information on the subject of his education. The first remarkable notice of him occurs in 1548, when Scotland was invaded by the lords Grey de Wilton and Clinton, the one by land, and the other by sea. The latter having made a descent on the coast of Fife, the young prior, who then lived at St Andrews, placed himself at the head of a determined little band of patriots, waylaid the invaders, and drove them back to their boats with great slaughter. Shortly after this, he accompanied his unfortunate sister, queen Mary, then a child, to France, whither a party of the Scottish nobles sent her, at once for safety, and for the benefits of the superior education which that country afforded.

The prior, however, did not remain long in France on this occasion; but he seems to have been in the practice of repairing thither, from time to time, during several years after. At this period he does not appear to have taken any remarkable interest in national affairs, and none whatever in those of the church, to which he had always a decided aversion as a profession. He, however, did not object to the good things in its gift. In addition to the priory of St Andrews, he acquired that of Pittenweem, and did not hesitate, besides, to accept that of Mascon in France, *in commendam*, with a dispensation to hold three benefices. For these favours of the French court, he took an oath of fealty to pope Paul III. in 1544.

From the year 1548, when the prior, as he was usually called, defeated the English troops under Clinton, till 1557, there occurs nothing in his history, with the exception of the circumstance of his accompanying Mary to France, worthy of any particular notice. In the latter year, accompanied by his brother, lord Robert Stuart, abbot of Holyrood, he made an incursion into England at the head of a small force, but without effecting any very important service, or doing much injury to the enemy. In the same year, he proceeded to Paris, to witness the ceremony of marriage between the young queen of Scotland and the dauphin of France, having been appointed one of the commissioners on the part of the former kingdom for that occasion. Soon after the celebration of the marriage, the prior solicited from Mary the earldom of Murray; but this request, by the advice of her mother, the queen regent, she refused; and, although she qualified the refusal by an offer of a bishopric, either in France or England, instead, it is said that from this circumstance proceeded, in a great measure, his subsequent hostility to the regent's government.

During the struggles between the queen regent and the lords of the congregation, the prior, who had at first taken part with the former, how sincerely may be questioned, but latterly with the lords, gradually acquired, by his

judicious conduct and general abilities, a very high degree of consideration in the kingdom. He was by many degrees the most potent instrument, after John Knox, in establishing the reformed religion.

Having now abandoned all appearance of the clerical character, he was, soon after the death of the queen regent, which happened on the 11th of June, 1560, appointed one of the lords of the Articles; and in the following year, he was commissioned by a council of the nobility to proceed to France, to invite Mary, whose husband was now dead, to return to Scotland. This commission he executed with much judgment, and with much tenderness towards his ill-fated relative; having, much against the inclination of those by whom he was deputed, insisted on the young queen's being permitted the free exercise of her own religion, after she should have ascended the throne of her ancestors.

On Mary's assuming the reins of government in her native land, the prior took his place beside her throne, as her confidant, prime minister, and adviser; and, by his able and judicious conduct, carried her safely and triumphantly through the first act of her stormy reign. He swept the borders of the numerous bands of freebooters with which they were infested. He kept the enemies of Mary's dynasty in abeyance, strengthened the attachment of her friends, and by his vigilance, promptitude, and resolution, made those who did not love her government, learn to fear its resentment. For these important services, Mary, whose implicit confidence he enjoyed, first created him lieutenant of the borders, and afterwards earl of Mar. Soon after his creation, the earl married the lady Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl Marischal. The ceremony was publicly performed in the church of St Giles, Edinburgh, with a pomp which greatly offended the reformers, who were highly scandalized by the profanities which were practised on the occasion. The earldom, which the prior had just obtained from the gratitude of the queen, having been claimed by lord Erskine as his peculiar right, the claim was admitted, and the prior resigned both the title and the property attached to it; but was soon after gratified by the earldom of Murray, which had long been the favourite object of his ambition. Immediately after his promotion to this dignity, the earl of Huntly, a disappointed competitor for the power and popularity which Murray had obtained, and for the favour and confidence of the queen, having been proclaimed a rebel for various overt acts of insubordination, originating in his hostility to the earl; the latter, equally prompt, vigorous, and efficient in the field as at the council board, led a small army, hastily summoned for the occasion, against Huntly, whom he encountered at the head of his adherents, at a place called Corrichie. A battle ensued, and the earl of Murray was victorious. In this engagement he displayed singular prudence, skill, and intrepidity, and a military genius, which proved him to be as able a soldier, as he was a statesman. On the removal of Huntly, —for this powerful enemy died suddenly and immediately after the battle, although he had received no wound, and his eldest son perished on the scaffold at Aberdeen,—Murray remained in undisputed possession of the chief authority in the kingdom, next to that of the sovereign; and the history of Scotland does not present an instance, where a similar authority was more wisely or more judiciously employed. The confidence, however, amounting even to affection, which had hitherto subsisted between Murray and his sovereign, was now about to be interrupted, and finally annihilated. The first step towards this unhappy change of sentiment, was occasioned by the queen's marriage with Darnley. To this marriage, Murray was not at first averse; nay, he rather promoted it: but some personal insults, which the vanity and weakness of Darnley induced him to offer to Murray, together with an offensive behaviour on the part of his father, the earl of Lennox, produced in the haughty statesman that hostility to

the connexion, which not only destroyed the good understanding between him and the queen, but converted him into an open and undisguised enemy. His irritation on this occasion was further increased by Mary's imprudently evincing, in several instances, a disposition to favour some of his most inveterate enemies; and amongst these, the notorious earl of Bothwell, who had some time before conspired against his life. In this frame of mind, Murray not only obstinately refused his consent to the proposed marriage of Mary to Darnley, but ultimately had recourse to arms to oppose it. In this attempt, however, to establish himself by force, he was unsuccessful. After raising an army, and being pursued from place to place by Mary in person, at the head of a superior force, he fled into England, together with a number of his followers and adherents, and remained there for several months. During his expatriation, however, a total change of affairs took place at the court of Holyrood. The vain and weak Darnley, wrought upon by the friends of Murray, became jealous, not of the virtue, but of the power of the queen, and impatiently sought for uncontrolled authority. In this spirit he was prevailed upon, by the enemies of his consort, to league himself with Murray and the banished lords who were with him. The first step of the conspirators was the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary; the next, the recall, on their own responsibility, sanctioned by Darnley, of the expatriated nobleman, who arrived in Edinburgh on the 9th of March, 1566, twenty-four hours after the assassination of the unfortunate Italian.

Although Murray's return had taken place without the queen's consent, she was yet very soon, not only reconciled to that event, but was induced to receive him again apparently into entire favour. Whatever sincerity, however, there was in this seeming reconciliation on the part of the queen, there appears to be good reason for believing that there was but little of that feeling on the side of Murray; for, from this period he may be distinctly traced, notwithstanding of occasional instances of apparent attachment to the interests of the queen, as the prime mover, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, of a faction opposed to the government of Mary; and whose object evidently was to overthrow her power, and to establish their own in its stead. To this end, indeed, the aim of Murray and his confederates would seem to have been long steadily directed; and the unguarded and imprudent, if not criminal, conduct of the queen, enabled them speedily to attain their object. The murder of Darnley, and the subsequent marriage of Mary to Bothwell, had the twofold effect of adding to the number of her enemies, and of increasing the hostility of those who already entertained unfriendly sentiments towards her. The result was, that she was finally dethroned, and confined a prisoner in Lochleven castle, and the earl of Murray was appointed regent of Scotland. With this dignity he was invested on the 22nd of August, 1567; but whatever objection may be urged against his conduct previous and relative to his elevation, or the line of policy he pursued when seeking the attainment of this object of his ambition, there can be none urged against the system of government he adopted and acted upon, when placed in power. He procured the enactment of many wise and salutary laws, dispensed justice with a fearless and equal hand, kept down the turbulent and factious, restored internal tranquillity and personal safety to the people; and, in every public act of his authority, discovered a sincere desire for the welfare of his country. Still the regent was yet more feared and respected, than loved. He had many and powerful enemies; while the queen, though a captive, had still many and powerful friends. These, having succeeded in effecting her liberation from Lochleven, mustered in arms, and took the field in great force, with the view of restoring her to her throne. With his usual presence of mind, fortitude, and energy, the regent calmly, but promptly, prepared

to meet the coming storm; and, in place of demitting the regency, as he had been required to do by the queen, he determined on repelling force by force. Having mustered an army of three thousand men, he encountered the forces of the queen, which consisted of double that number, at Langside, and totally routed them; his cool, calculating judgment, calm intrepidity, and high military talents, being more than a match for their numerical superiority. This victory the regent instantly followed up by the most decisive measures. He attacked and destroyed all the castles and strongholds of the nobles and gentlemen who had joined the queen; and infused a yet stronger, and more determined spirit into the administration of the laws: and thus he eventually established his authority on a firmer basis than that on which it had rested before.

After the queen's flight to England, the regent, with some others, was summoned to York, by Elizabeth, to bear witness against her, in a trial which had been instituted by the latter, to ascertain Mary's guilt or innocence of the crime of Darnley's murder. The regent obeyed the summons, and did not hesitate to give the most unqualified testimony against his unhappy sister. Having performed this ungenerous part, he left the unfortunate queen in the hands of her enemies, and returned to the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, of which he was now uncontrolled master. The proud career, however, of this wily, but able politician, this stern, but just ruler, was now soon to be darkly and suddenly closed. While passing on horseback through the streets of Linlithgow, on the 23rd of January, 1570, he was fired at, from a window, by James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, nephew to the archbishop of St Andrews. The ball passed through his body, but did not instantly prove fatal. Having recovered from the first shock of the wound, he walked to his lodgings, but expired a little before midnight, being at the period of his death in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Hamilton's hostility to the regent, proceeded from some severities with which the latter had visited him, for having fought under the queen at Langside. The assassin escaped to France, where he died a few years afterwards, deeply regretting the crime he had committed.

STUART, JOHN, third earl of Bute, and prime minister of Great Britain, was the eldest son of the second earl of Bute, by lady Anne Campbell, daughter of Archibald, first duke of Argyle. He was born in the Parliament Square, Edinburgh, May 25, 1713, and succeeded to the title, on the death of his father, in January, 1723. In April, 1737, on a vacancy occurring in the representation of the Scottish peerage, the earl of Bute was chosen to fill it: he was re-chosen at the general elections of 1761, 1768, and 1774. His lordship married, August 24, 1736, Mary, only daughter of the celebrated lady Mary Wortley Montagu, by whom he had a numerous family. On his first introduction to court life, lord Bute had the good fortune to ingratiate himself with the princess of Wales, mother of George III., who admitted him to that close superintendence of the education of her son, which was the foundation of all his historical importance. In 1750, he was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber to Frederick, prince of Wales; and on the settlement of the household of the heir apparent, in 1756, the earl of Bute was appointed his groom of the stole. His lordship acquired the full confidence and friendship of the young prince; and is believed to have been chiefly instrumental in training and informing his mind. Before the prince's accession to the throne in 1760, Lord Bute was continued in his situation as groom of the stole; and in March, next year, on the dismissal of the Whig ministry, was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state. His lordship was in the same year appointed keeper and ranger of Richmond park, on the resignation of the princess Amelia; and invested with the order of the garter,—an honour, as is well

known, rarely bestowed, except upon persons who have rendered important services to the state.

The elevation of a nobleman, only known heretofore as the royal preceptor, and who was also obnoxious to vulgar prejudices on account of his country, to such high place and honour, naturally excited much irritation in England. This feeling was greatly increased, when, in May, 1762, his lordship was constituted first lord of the treasury. It reached its acme, on his lordship taking measures for concluding a war with France, in which the British arms had been singularly successful, and which the nation in general wished to see carried on, till that country should be completely humbled. The great Whig oligarchy, which, after swaying the state from the accession of the house of Hanover, had now seen the last days of its dominancy, was still powerful, and it received an effective, though ignoble aid, from a popular party, headed by the infamous Wilkes, and inflamed by other unprincipled demagogues, chiefly through the medium of the press. A newspaper, called the *Briton*, had been started for the purpose of defending the new administration. It was met by one called the *North Briton*, conducted by Wilkes, and which, in scurrility and party violence, exceeded all that went before it. Wilkes, it is said, might at one time have been bribed to silence by lord Bute; he now took up the pen with the determined purpose, as he himself expressed it, of writing his lordship out of office. Neither the personal character of the minister, nor his political proceedings furnishing much matter for satire, this low-minded, though clever and versatile man, set up his country and countrymen as a medium through which to assail him. The earl, seeing it in vain to contend against prejudices so firmly rooted, lost no time, after concluding the peace of Paris, in resigning; he gave up office on the 16th of April, 1763, to the great surprise of his enemies, who, calculating his motives by their own, expected him, under all circumstances, to adhere to the so-called good things which were in his grasp.

The Bute administration, brief as it was, is memorable for the patronage which it extended to literature. The minister, himself a man of letters and of science, wished that the new reign should be the commencement of an Augustan era; and he accordingly was the means of directing the attention of the young monarch to a number of objects, which had hitherto languished for want of the crown patronage. One of the most remarkable effects of the spirit infused by his lordship into the royal mind was, the rescuing of the majestic mind of Johnson from the distresses of a dependence on letters for subsistence; a transaction, for which many bosoms, yet to be animated with the breath of life, will expand in gratitude at the mention of the name of George III.

The ministerial character of lord Bute has been thus drawn by an impartial writer: "Few ministers have been more hated than lord Bute was by the English nation; yet, if we estimate his conduct from facts, without being influenced by local or temporary prejudices, we can by no means find just grounds for the odium which he incurred. As a war minister, though his plans discovered little of original genius, and naturally proceeded from the measures of his predecessor, the general state of our resources, the conquests achieved, and the dispositions of our fleets and armies, yet they were judicious; the agents appointed to carry them on were selected with discernment, and the whole result was successful. His desire of peace, after so long and burdensome a war, was laudable, but perhaps too eagerly manifested. As a negotiator, he did not procure the best terms, which, from our superiority, might have been obtained. His project of finance, in itself unobjectionable, derived its impolicy from the unpopularity of his administration. Exposed from unfounded prejudices to

calumny, he deserved and earned dislike by his haughty deportment. 'The manners which custom might have sanctioned from an imperious chieftain to his servile retainers in a remote corner of the island, did not suit the independent spirit of the English metropolis. The respectable mediocrity of his talents, with the suitable attainments, and his decent moral character, deserved an esteem which his manners precluded. Since he could not, like Pitt, command by superior genius, he ought, like the duke of Newcastle, to have conciliated by affable demeanour. His partizans have praised the tenacity of lord Bute in his purposes; a quality which, guided by wisdom in the pursuit of right, and combined with the power to render success ultimately probable, is magnanimous firmness, but, without these requisites, is stubborn obstinacy. No charge has been more frequently made against lord Bute, than that he was a promoter of arbitrary principles and measures. This is an accusation for which its supporters can find no grounds in his particular acts; they endeavoured therefore to establish their assertion by circuitous arguments. Lord Bute had been the means of disposing the Whig connection of power, and had given Scotsmen appointments, which were formerly held by the friends of the duke of Newcastle. To an impartial investigation, however, it appears evident, that lord Bute merely preferred himself as minister to the duke of Newcastle. If we examine his particular nominations, we shall find that he neither exalted the friends of liberty nor despotism, but his own friends. It would probably have been better for the country if lord Bute had never been minister; but all the evils that may be traced to that period did not necessarily proceed from his measures, as many of them flowed from circumstances over which he had no control. Candour must allow that the comprehensive principle on which his majesty resolved to govern was liberal and meritorious, though patriotism may regret that he was not more successful in his first choice. The administration of Bute teaches an instructive lesson, that no man can be long an effectual minister of this country, who will not occasionally attend, not only to the well-founded judgment, but also to the prejudices, of Englishmen."¹

The earl of Bute spent the most of the remainder of his life in retirement, at his seat of Luton in Bedfordshire, but not without the suspicion of still maintaining a secret influence over the royal counsels. "The spirit of the Favourite," says Junius, "had some apparent influence over every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration, as long as they submitted to that influence." The chief employment, however, of the ex-minister was the cultivation of literature and science. He was more fond of books of information than of imagination. His favourite study was botany, with which he acquainted himself to such an extent, that the first botanists in Europe were in the habit of consulting his lordship. He composed a work on English plants, in nine quarto volumes, of which only sixteen copies were thrown off; the text as well as the figures of the plants being engraved on copper-plates, and these plates, it is said, immediately cancelled, though the work cost upwards of one thousand pounds. He presented to the Winchester college a bronze statue of their founder, William of Wykham, supposed to have been the work of some great artist in the fourteenth century. It is a full length figure in the episcopal habit, sixteen inches high, and executed with remarkable elegance. His lordship was elected one of the trustees of the British Museum in 1765, held the office of chancellor of the Marischal college of Aberdeen, and, on the institution of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland (1780,) was elected president. He was an honorary fellow of the Royal College of

¹ Bisset's Reign of George III. *apud* Brydges' Peerage.

Physicians at Edinburgh, and to him the university of that city was indebted for its useful appendage, the Botanic Garden.

Part of his lordship's time in his latter years was spent at a marine villa which he built on the edge of the cliff at Christ Church, in Hampshire, overlooking the Needles and the Isle of Wight. Here his principal delight was to listen to the melancholy roar of the sea; of which the plaintive sounds were probably congenial to a spirit soured with what he believed to be the ingratitude of mankind. His lordship died at his house in South Audley Street, London, March 10, 1792, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Of his private character and manners, which may now properly be touched upon, an acute observer has written as follows:—"I never knew a man with whom one could be so long tête à tête without being tired. His knowledge was so extensive, and consequently his conversation so varied, that one thought one's self in the company of several persons, with the advantage of being sure of an even temper in a man whose goodness, politeness, and attention, were never wanting to those who lived with him."²

STUART, (DR) GILBERT, an eminent historical essayist, was born at Edinburgh in 1742. His father was Mr George Stuart, professor of humanity (Latin) and Roman antiquities, in the university of Edinburgh. Gilbert received an accomplished education in his native city, under the superintendence of his father. His education was directed towards qualifying him for the bar; but it is questionable whether his magnificent opinion of his own abilities permitted him ever seriously to think of becoming an ordinary practising advocate. Before he was twenty-two years of age, he made what was considered a splendid entrance on the career of authorship, by publishing an "Historical Dissertation concerning the English Constitution;" the circumstance, that four editions of a work on a subject requiring so much information and power of thought, yet which almost every man possessed knowledge enough to criticise, were speedily issued, is of itself sufficient evidence that the young author possessed a very powerful intellect.¹ When we consider the reputation of his father, it cannot perhaps be argued as a very strong additional evidence of the esteem in which the work was held, that the university of Edinburgh conferred on the author the degree of Doctor of Laws. His next literary labour was the editing of the second edition of Sullivan's Lectures on the English Constitution, in 1772, to which he prefixed a "Discourse on the Government and Laws of England." Dr Stuart endeavoured to obtain one of the law chairs in the university of Edinburgh, whether that of Scottish or of civil law, the writers who have incidentally noticed the circumstances of his life, do not mention; nor are they particular as to the period, which would appear from his conduct to his opponents, in the Edinburgh Magazine of 1773, to have been some time before that year.² Whether he possessed a knowledge of his subject sufficiently minute for the task of teaching it to others, may have been a matter of doubt; his talents and general learning were certainly sufficiently high, but his well-earned character for dissipation, the effect of which was not softened by the supercilious arrogance of his manners,

² *Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement*, iv. 177.

¹ Kerr (*Life of Smellie*) and others say he was then only twenty-two years old; yet there is no edition of this work older than 1768, when, according to the same authorities, he must have been twenty-six years old.

² According to the list of Professors in Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, the only law chair succeeded to for many years at this period of Stuart's life, is that of the law of nature and nations, presented to Mr James Balfour, in 1764. If we can suppose this person to have been Mr Stuart's successful opponent, we would find him disappointed by the same fortunate person who snatched the moral philosophy chair from Hume. The list seems, however, to be imperfect. No notice, for instance, is taken of any one entering on the Scots law chair in 1765, when it was resigned by Erskine.

was, to Dr Robertson and others, sufficient reason for opposing him, without farther inquiry. To the influence of the worthy principal, it has generally been considered that his rejection was owing; and as he was of a temperament never to forgive, he turned the course of his studies, and the future labour of his life, to the depreciation of the literary performances of his adversary; turning aside only from his grand pursuit, when some other object incidentally attracted his virulence, and making even his inordinate thirst of fame secondary to his desire of vengeance. After his disappointment, Stuart proceeded to London, where he was for some time employed as a writer in the *Monthly Review*. His particular contributions to this periodical have not been specified; but to one at all curious about the matter, it might not be difficult to detect every sentence of his magniloquent pen, from the polished order of the sentences, their aspect of grave reflection, and the want of distinctness of idea, when they are critically examined. By the establishment of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, in 1773, Stuart had more unlimited opportunities of performing the great duty of his life. As manager of that periodical, he was associated with Mr Smellie, a man of very different habits and temperament; and Blacklock, Richardson, Gillies, and other men of considerable eminence, were among the contributors. This periodical, which extended to five volumes, was creditable to the authors as a literary production, and exhibited spirit and originality, unknown to that class of literature in Scotland at the period, and seldom equalled in England. But in regard to literature, Edinburgh was then, what it has ceased to be, a merely provincial town. The connexions of the booksellers, and the literature expected to proceed from it, did not enable it to support a periodical for the whole country. It was the fate of that under consideration, while it aimed at talent which would make it interesting elsewhere, to concentrate it, in many instances, in virulence which was uninteresting to the world in general, and which finally disgusted those persons more personally acquainted with the parties attacked, whose curiosity and interest it at first roused. Mr D'Israeli has discovered, and printed in his *Calamities of Authors*, a part of the correspondence of Stuart at this period, curiously characteristic of his exulting hopes of conquest. "The proposals," he says, "are issued: the subscriptions in the booksellers' shops astonish: correspondents flock in; and, what will surprise you, the timid proprietors of the *Scots Magazine*, have come to the resolution of dropping their work. You stare at all this; and so do I too." "Thus," observes Mr D'Israeli, "he flatters himself he is to annihilate his rival, without even striking the first blow; the appearance of his first number is to be the moment when their last is to come forth." Authors, like the discoverers of mines, are the most sanguine creatures in the world. Gilbert Stuart afterwards flattered himself that Dr Henry was lying at the point of death, from the scalping of his tomahawk pen. But of this anon. On the publication of the first number, in November, 1773, all is exultation; and an account is facetiously expected, that "a thousand copies had emigrated from the Row and Fleet Street." There is a serious composure in letter of December, which seems to be occasioned by the tempered answer of his London correspondent. The work was more suited to the meridian of Edinburgh, and from causes sufficiently obvious, its personality and causticity. Stuart, however, assures his friend, that "the second number you will find better than the first, and the third better than the second." The next letter is dated March 4th, 1774, in which I find our author still in good spirits. "The magazine rises and promises much in this quarter. Our artillery has silenced all opposition. The rogues of the 'uplifted hands' decline the combat." These rogues are the clergy: and some others, who had "uplifted hands,"

from the vituperative nature of their adversary : for he tells us, that “ now the clergy are silent ; the town council have had the presumption to oppose us, and have threatened Creech (the publisher in Edinburgh) with the terror of making him a constable for his insolence. A pamphlet on the abuses of Heriot’s hospital, including a direct proof of perjury in the provost, was the punishment inflicted in turn. And new papers are forging to chastise them, in regard to the poor’s rate, which is again started ; the improper choice of professors ; and violent stretches of the impost. *The liberty of the press*, in its fullest extent, is to be employed against them.”³

The natural conclusion from the tone of these letters, from circumstances in the conduct of Stuart, which we have already recorded, and from some we may hereafter mention, might perhaps be, that he was a man possessed with a general malignity against the human race ; yet it has been said that he was warm in his friendships, and that his indignation against vice and meanness, frequently exhibited, came from his heart. It will appear perhaps to be the truest conclusion as to his character, that he was simply one of those men who are termed persons of violent passions, and who may be made Falconbridges, squire Westerns, or Gilbert Stuarts, from circumstances. The circumstances which swerved his feelings into their particular course, appear to have done so, by feeding his mind with arrogance, and making him look upon himself as a being of superior mould to that of his fellows. Such a man, independently of the want of restraint, which he must feel from the opinions of people whom he thinks beneath him, invariably finds the world not so complimentary to his genius as he is himself ; and he consequently feels surrounded by enemies,—by people who rob him of his just right. His father, long a respectable professor, is said to have possessed the same fiery temperament ; but his mind was regulated by a routine of studies and duties. He probably entered the world with lower expectations than those of his son, and had less opportunity of nursing his arrogance, and his passions effervesced in common irritability, and enthusiasm for particular branches of literature. The mind of such a man as Stuart deserves a little study, beyond the extent to which his merely literary importance would entitle him ; and perhaps a few extracts from his letters to Mr Smellie—a man certainly his equal in talent, and his superior in useful information—may form not uninteresting specimens of his arrogance. As Stuart was above troubling himself with dates, the extracts are picked miscellaneously.

“ Inclosed is Murray’s letter, which you will consider attentively, and send me the result, that I may write to him. That was to have been done by Creech and you, but has not yet been thought of by either. The business we are about to engage in, is too serious to be trifled with.

“ It appears to me perfectly obvious, that without a partner in London, we cannot possibly be supplied with books ; and on our speedy supply of them, the whole success of the work must depend. Murray seems fully apprized of the pains and attention that are necessary,—has literary connexions, and is fond of the employment,—let him, therefore, be the London proprietor.

“ If I receive your letters to-morrow, they may be sent off the day after. Shut yourself up for two hours after supper. Be explicit and full ; and in the mean time, let me know what books are sent off, besides Harwood and the Child of Nature ; which, by the by, might have been sent off three full weeks ago, as they have been so long in your possession.

“ As to the introductory paragraph about an extract from Kames, I wrote you fully about it ten days ago ; and it is a pain to me to write fifty times on the same subject. It is odd that you will rather give one incessant trouble,

³ Calamities of Authors, i. 51—7.

than keep a book of transactions, or lay aside the letters you receive, with copy inclosed. The extract from Kames is laid aside, to make way for extracts from Pennant, which are more popular. Explain to —, who is by this time in town, the ridiculousness of his behaviour. It would seem that his servants are perfect idiots, and that he trusts to them. If I were in his place, and a servant once neglected to do what I had ordered him, he should never receive from me a second order.

"I beg that Creech and you may have some communing about the fate of the magazine; as I am no longer to have any concern with it. I do not mean to write anything for it, after the present volume is finished; and I fancy the next is the last number of the third volume. I have another view of disposing of my time, and I fancy it will almost wholly be taken up; the sooner, therefore, that I am informed of your resolutions, the better."⁴

Poor Mr Smellie seems to have laboured with patient, but ineffectual perseverance, to check the ardour of his restless colleague. An attack by Stuart on the *Elements of Criticism* by lord Kames, he managed, by the transmutation of a few words, adroitly to convert into a panegyric. "On the day of publication," says the memorialist of Smellie, "Dr Stuart came to inquire at the printing office, 'if the — was damned;'" using a gross term which he usually indulged in, when he was censuring an author. Mr Smellie told him what he had done, and put a copy of the altered review into his hands. After reading the two or three introductory sentences, he fell down on the floor, apparently in a fit: but, on coming to himself again, he good naturedly said, "William, after all, I believe you have done right."⁵ Smellie was not, however, so fortunate on other occasions. The eccentricities of the classical Burnet of Monboddoo, afforded an opportunity which Stuart did not wish to omit. He proposed to adorn the first number of the Magazine with "a print of my lord Monboddoo, in his quadruped form. I must, therefore," he continues, "most earnestly beg that you will purchase for me a copy of it in some of the macaroni-print shops. It is not to be procured at Edinburgh. They are afraid to vend it here. We are to take it on the footing of a figure of an animal, not yet described; and are to give a grave, yet satirical account of it, in the manner of Buffon. It would not be proper to allude to his lordship, but in a very distant manner."⁶ Although this laborious joke was not attempted, Stuart's criticism on the *Origin and Progress of Language*, notwithstanding the mollifications of Smellie, had a sensible effect on the sale of the magazine. "I am sorry," says Mr Murray, in a letter to Smellie, "for the defeat you have met with. Had you praised lord Monboddoo, instead of damning him, it would not have happened." It is to be feared the influence against the periodical was produced, not so much by its having unduly attacked the work of a philosopher, as from its having censured a lord of session.

During his labours for this magazine, Stuart did not neglect his pleasures. He is said one night to have called at the house of his friend Smellie, in a state of such complete jollity, that it was necessary he should be put to bed. Awakening, and mistaking the description of place in which he was lodged, he brought his friend in his night-gown to his bed-side, by his repeated cries of "*house! house!*" and, in a tone of sympathy, said to him, "Smellie! I never expected to see you in such a house. Get on your clothes, and return immediately to your wife and family: and be assured I shall never mention this affair to any one." The biographer of Smellie, who has recorded the above, gives the following similar anecdote of Stuart and his friends. "On another ramble of

⁴ Kerr's *Life of Smellie*, v. i.

⁵ Kerr's *Smellie*, i. 409.

⁶ *Calamities of Authors*, i. 53.

dissipation, Dr Stuart is said to have taken several days to travel on foot between the cross of Edinburgh and Musselburgh, a distance of only six miles; stopping at every public-house by the way, in which good ale could be found. In this strange expedition he was accompanied part of the way by several boon companions, who were fascinated beyond their ordinary excesses, by his great powers of wit and hilarity in conversation; but who gradually fell off at various stages of the slow progression. The last of these companions began his return towards Edinburgh from the Magdalen bridge, within a mile of Musselburgh; but, oppressed by the fumes of the ale, which he had too long and too liberally indulged in, he staggered, in the middle of the night, into the ash-pit of a great steam engine, which then stood by the road side, and fell into a profound sleep. On awakening before day, he beheld the mouth of an immense fiery furnace open, several figures, all grim with soot and ashes, were stirring the fire, ranging the bars of the enormous grate, and throwing on more fuel; while the terrible clanking of the chains and beams of the machinery above, impressed his still confused imagination with an idea that he was in *hell*. Horror-struck at the frightful idea, he is said to have exclaimed, 'Good God! is it come to this at last?'⁷

The persecution of Henry, the author of the History of Great Britain, commenced by Stuart in the Edinburgh Magazine and Review, has been recorded in the memoir of that individual. Before quitting this subject, let us give the parting curse of the editor for his literary disappointments in Scotland. "It is an infinite disappointment to me that the Magazine does not grow in London. I thought the soil had been richer. But it is my constant fate to be disappointed in everything I attempt; I do not think I ever had a wish that was gratified; and never dreaded an event that did not come. With this felicity of fate, I wonder how the devil I could turn projector. I am now sorry that I left London; and the moment I have money enough to carry me back to it, I shall set off. *I mortally detest and abhor this place, and every body in it.* Never was there a city where there was so much pretension to knowledge, and that had so little of it. The solemn foppery, and the gross stupidity of the Scottish literati are perfectly insupportable. I shall drop my idea of a Scots newspaper. Nothing will do in this country that has common sense in it; only cant, hypocrisy, and superstition, will flourish here. *A curse on the country, and on all the men, women, and children of it.*"⁸ Accordingly, Stuart did return to England, and along with Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, a man of very different literary habits, but somewhat similar in temper, for some time supported the English Review. In 1778, he published his well known "View of Society in Europe in its progress from rudeness to refinement; or, Inquiries concerning the History of Law, Government, and Manners." This, the most popular of his works, and for a long time a standard book on the subject, is certainly the most carefully and considerately prepared of all his writings. Its adoption almost to caricature, of that practice of the great Montesquieu, which was all of him that some writers could imitate, of drawing reflections whether there were, or were not facts to support them, was fashionable, and did not perhaps disparage the work; while the easy flow of the sentences fascinated many readers. It cannot be said that in this book he made any discovery, or established any fact of importance. He contented himself with vague speculations on the description of the manners of the Germans by Tacitus, and new reflections upon such circumstances as had been repeatedly noticed before. To have made a book of permanent interest and utility

⁷ Kerr's Smellie, i. 594.

⁸ Calamities of Authors, ii. C0.

from facts which every one knew, required a higher philosophical genius than that of Stuart, and since the more accurate researches of Hallam and Meyer, the book has fallen into disuse. In 1779, he published "Observations concerning the Public Law, and the Constitutional History of Scotland, with occasional remarks concerning English Antiquity." To a diligent man, who would have taken the trouble of investigating facts, there would here have been a very tolerable opportunity of attacking Robertson, at least on the score of omissions, for his constitutional views are very imperfect; Stuart, however, had no more facts than those which his adversary provided him with, and he contented himself with deducing opposite opinions. As there was a real want of matter sufficient to supply anything like a treatise on the subject—a want scarcely yet filled up—this work was still more vague and sententious, than that on the general history of Europe. A sentence towards the commencement is very characteristic of the author's habits of thought. "An idea has prevailed, that one nation of Europe adopted the feudal institutions from another, and the similarity of fiefs in all the states where they were established, has given an air of plausibility to this opinion. It is contradicted, however, by the principles of natural reason, and by the nature of the feudal usages: and, if I am not mistaken, it receives no real sanction from records or history." Thus, his own opinions on "the principles of natural reason," and on "the nature of the feudal usages," were to him of more importance than "records or history." In 1780, he published his "History of the establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland," commencing in 1517, and ending in 1561; and in 1782, "The History of Scotland, from the Establishment of the Reformation till the death of queen Mary." Both these works are said by those who have perused them, to be written with the view of controverting the opinions of Dr Robertson. In 1785, Stuart was at the head of "The Political Herald and Review, or a survey of Domestic and Foreign Politics, and a critical account of Political and Historical Publications." In this work we frequently meet the flowing sentences of Stuart, especially in papers relating to Scotland, of which there are several. It is a curious circumstance that, especially in letters of animadversion addressed to individuals, he has evidently endeavoured to ingraft the pointed sarcasm of Junius on his own slashing weapon. One of these, "An Address to Henry Dundas, Esq., treasurer of the Navy, on the Perth Peerage," is with some servility signed "Brutus." This work extended, we believe, to only two volumes, which are now rather rare.

In London, Stuart seems to have suffered most of the miseries of unsuccessful authorship, and to have paid dearly for talents misapplied.

In the life of Dr William Thomson, in the Annual Obituary for 1822, there is the following highly characteristic notice of his life and habits at this period: "Although the son of a professor, and himself a candidate for the same office, after a regular education at the university of Edinburgh: yet we have heard his friend assert, and appeal to their common acquaintance, Dr Grant, for the truth of the position, that, although he excelled in composition, and possessed a variety of other knowledge, yet he was actually unacquainted with the common divisions of science and philosophy. Under this gentleman, as has been already observed, he (Dr Thomson) composed several papers for the Political Herald, for which the former, as the ostensible editor, was handsomely paid; while the latter received but a scanty remuneration. But it was as a boon companion that he was intimately acquainted with this gentleman, who was greatly addicted to conviviality, and that too in a manner, and to an excess which can scarcely be credited by one who is acquainted with the elegant effusions of his polished mind. The 'Peacock,' in Grays-Inn Lane, was the scene of

their festivities, and it was there that these learned Doctors, in rivulets of Burton ale, not unfrequently quaffed libations to their favourite deity, until the clock informed them of the approaching day."

His constitution at length broke down, and he took a sea-voyage to the place of his nativity for the recovery of his health, but died of dropsy, at his father's house, near Musselburgh, August 13, 1786, aged forty-four.

T

TANNAHILL, ROBERT, a very popular writer of Scottish songs, was born in Paisley on the 3rd of June, 1774. He was the son of James Tannahill, a weaver of silk gauze there, who originally came from Kilmarnock, and Janet Pollock, the daughter of a farmer near Beith. Both parents were much respected for their intelligence and worth; the mother, in particular, was a woman of very general information, and exemplary conduct in life. Their family consisted of six sons and one daughter; Robert being the fourth child. At his birth, one of his legs was deformed, the foot being considerably bent, and the leg smaller than the other. During his boyhood, he was much ashamed of his crooked foot, and took every opportunity, when alone, to try and straighten it with his hand. In this manner, by constant application, he brought it into a proper position; but the leg always continued smaller than its fellow, and, to hide this deformity, he generally wore upon it two or more pairs of stockings. The deception succeeded so well, that few of his companions knew that the one leg differed from the other; nor did he suffer much inconvenience from it, being able to join in the dance, or afternoon excursion, without betraying any lameness, although in long journeys it generally failed him. When at school, he began to distinguish himself by writing verses. These were generally upon some odd character about the place, or upon any unusual circumstance that might occur. After school-hours, it was customary for the boys to put riddles to each other, or, as they called it, to "spee guesses." Robert usually gave his in rhyme; and a schoolfellow, to whom we are indebted for some of the particulars of this memoir, remembers one of them to this day. It was as follows:—

My colour's brown, my shape's uncouth,
On ilka side I hae a mouth;
And, strange to tell, I will devour
My bulk of meat in half an hour.

This riddle, on being solved, turned out to allude to the big, brown, unshapely nose of a well-known character, who took large quantities of snuff.

From the school, where he was taught to read, write, and cast accounts, Tannahill was sent to the loom. About this time, the weaving of cotton was introduced into Paisley; and the high wages realized by it, induced parents to teach their children the trade at an early age, so that their apprenticeships were generally finished by the time they reached fifteen or sixteen. The flow of money, which persons thus so young could command by the exercise of a flourishing handicraft, led to the early marriages for which Paisley was then noted; and no town at the time abounded in more merrymakings, or presented a more gay and thriving community. Education was widely diffused amongst the inhabitants, who were remarkable for the intelligent and active interest they took in public affairs. The weaving population could always afford a weekly half-holiday for cultivating their gardens or rambling into the country. Tannahill participated in the general prosperity. Dancing parties and rural excursions were frequent

among the young people of both sexes, and in these he often joined. He then formed many of those poetical attachments, which he afterwards celebrated in song. It was in such meetings, and such excursions, that he first saw "Jessie the flower o' Dumblane,"¹—first heard the song of the "mavis" from the "Wood of Craigielee,"—and first breathed the fragrant "broom" of the "Braes o' Gleniffer."

While at work, it was his custom to occupy his mind with the composition of verses. To his loom he attached a sort of writing-desk, by which he was enabled, in the midst of his labours, to jot down any lines that might occur to him, without rising from his seat. In this way, some of his best songs were composed. He had a correct ear for music, and played the flute well; and whenever a tune greatly pleased him, it was his ambition to give it appropriate words of his own. It has been said in most of the notices of his life, that from his fourteenth to his twenty-fourth year, he wholly neglected the muse; but this is a mistake. He seldom allowed many days to pass without composing some song or copy of verses, which it was his custom to read to one or two only of his intimate acquaintances. The first poem of his which appeared in print, was in praise of Ferguslee wood; a wood which was one of his favourite haunts, and which often in the summer evenings rang to the notes of his flute. The lines were sent to a Glasgow periodical, and obtained immediate insertion, accompanied with a request for further favours. This was the more gratifying to the young poet, as in one or two previous endeavours at publication, he had been unsuccessful; and from this period he continued, for two or three years afterwards, to send occasional contributions to the Glasgow papers.

After his apprenticeship had expired, he removed to the village of Lochwinnoch, about nine miles from Paisley, where he continued to work at the loom for some time. It may be worth mentioning, that Alexander Wilson, the poet and future American ornithologist, was at this time also weaving in the same village. He was by some years the senior of Tannahill; and the latter, being then unknown to fame, had not the fortitude to seek his acquaintance, although he greatly admired the pieces by which Wilson had already distinguished himself.

About the year 1800, some of the figured loom-work, for which Paisley was famed, was beginning to be manufactured in England, and it was reported that great wages were to be had there for weaving it. Tempted by the report, or more probably by a desire of seeing the country, Tannahill left Paisley for England, accompanied by a younger brother. They went away without informing their parents, who, they rightly supposed, would have put a stop to the journey, as their circumstances in Paisley were too comfortable to justify a change. They were both at this time in the strength and buoyancy of youth; they were both also of industrious habits, of excellent dispositions, and of modest manners. They travelled mostly on foot, often stepping out of the way to view the curiosities of the country, until they reached Preston, which they had marked as the limit of their journey. They found, however, that nothing but plain work was woven there; and while Robert went forward to Bolton, to inquire after figured work, his brother took lodgings at Preston, in the house of an old woman of the Roman catholic persuasion. At Bolton, Robert found

¹ It disturbs the fancy to know, that, although Tannahill wrote all his love-songs under the inspiration of some particular object, in this case the girl was neither a Jessie, nor was she from Dumblane. The words were originally written to supplant the old doggerel song, "Bob o' Dumblane,"—hence the title. Tannahill never was in Dumblane,—never, indeed, beyond the Forth,—and knew no person belonging to Dumblane; yet the guards of coaches, and others, hesitate not to point out the very house in Dumblane in which Jessie was born.

plenty of employment of the desired description : but his brother, notwithstanding the superior wages to be made there, remained at Preston all the time he resided in England, being constrained to do so by the kindness of his old landlady, in whom he found a second mother. The two brothers, though thus separated, did not forget each other. Being much attached, they frequently met half-way between Preston and Bolton, and spent a few hours together : they also frequently wrote home to their parents an account of their welfare. Their stay in England lasted two years, and was only cut short by receiving intelligence of the fatal illness of their father. They hurried home without delay, and arrived in time to receive his dying blessing. After that event, they did not choose to return to England. The younger brother married, while Robert took up his abode with his mother, and till his death continued to be a comfort to her. His filial affections were at all times strong, and through life he honourably discharged the duties of an affectionate son.

It may be proper here to advert to a very erroneous impression which prevails respecting his worldly circumstances. In most of the notices taken of him, he is represented as leading a life of privation, and as fulfilling all that is supposed to be connected with the poet's lot in regard to penury. But so far from this being the case, his means were always above his wants. The house in which his mother resided was her own, and she was not only herself comfortably situated, but was enabled, by indulging in little charities, to add somewhat to the comforts of others. Such, also, was the state of trade at the time, that Robert could command good wages without extreme labour, and though more than one respectable situation, as foreman or overseer, was offered him, he chose to continue at the loom, because, by doing so, his time was more at his own disposal, and his personal independence greater. He had no wish to accumulate money ; but long before his death, he lodged twenty pounds in the bank, with the express intention that it should go to defray the expense of his funeral, and this sum was found untouched when his melancholy decease took place, a circumstance which of itself proves the unfounded nature of the reports regarding his poverty and destitution.

Soon after his return from England, he had the good fortune to become acquainted with the late Mr R. A. Smith, a gentleman of distinguished talent as a composer, who set to music and arranged some of his finest songs. He also formed an intimacy with several other individuals possessed of good judgment in musical matters, such as, Mr James Barr of Kilbarchan (composer of the tune of ' Craigielee,') Mr Andrew Blaikie, engraver, Paisley, and Mr James Clark, master of the Argyle Band. These gentlemen, and several others, were of service to him in improving his taste for composition, and in encouraging him in his love of song. His own manners were so retiring, and his reliance on himself so small, that, without the assurances of friendship, he probably would never have been induced to give to the world many of those pieces which have made his name known.

The first edition of his " Poems and Songs " appeared in the year 1807. It was very favourably received by the public, the previous popularity of several of his songs tending to make it sought after. But the author speedily came to regret that he had so prematurely given it to the world. Errors and faults he now detected in it, which had before escaped him, and he began assiduously to correct and re-write all his pieces, with a view to a second edition. He continued also to add to the number of his songs, and in these reached a high degree of excellence. Some of them, indeed, may be pronounced to be the very perfection of song-writing, so far as that consists in the simple and natural expression of feelings common to all. The extensive popularity which they at-

tained indicates how universally were felt and understood the sentiments which they recorded. It is gratifying to know, that the poet was in some measure a witness of his own success, and lived to hear his songs sung with approbation both in hall and cottage. In a solitary walk, on one occasion, his musings were interrupted by the voice of a country girl in an adjoining field, who was singing by herself a song of his own—

“We'll meet beside the dusky glen, on yon burnside;”—

and he used to say, that he was more pleased at this evidence of his popularity than at any tribute which had ever been paid him.

But his celebrity as a song writer brought its annoyances. Visitors of every description broke in upon his daily labours; an adjournment to the tavern was often the result, and acquaintanceships were formed too frequently over the bowl.² Tannahill at no time was addicted to liquor, but the facility of his nature prevented him from resisting the intrusions of idle and curious people, and the very character of the pieces for which he was distinguished led to convivialities, for how could the merits of a song be tested without the flowing glass? This was the more to be pitied, as the slightest irregularity injured him. His constitution was never strong. His father, his sister, and three brothers had all died of consumption, and he himself was often troubled with a pain in the chest, which was increased by working too hard. For some time before his lamentable end, he was observed frequently to fall into a deep melancholy. His temper became irritable, he was easily agitated, and prone to imagine that his best friends were disposed to injure him. His eyes were observed to sink, his countenance got pale, and his body emaciated. His whole appearance, in short, indicated a breaking up of his mental and bodily powers. The second edition of his Poems, which he had prepared for the press, was offered about this time to Mr Constable of Edinburgh for a very small sum, but was unfortunately declined. This tended still farther to depress him, and he came to the resolution of destroying everything which he had written. All his songs, to the amount of one hundred, many of which had never been printed, and of those printed all had been greatly corrected and amended, he put into the fire; and so anxious was he that no scrap of his should be preserved, he requested his acquaintances to return any manuscript which they had ever got from him. Of the immediate circumstances connected with his death, we have received the following account. The day previous to that event, he went to Glasgow, and displayed there such unequivocal proofs of mental derangement, that one of his friends, upon whom he called, felt it necessary to convoy him back all the way to Paisley, and to apprise his relations of the state of his mind. Alarmed at the intelligence, his brothers, who were married, and resided at different parts of the town, hastened to their mother's house, where they found that he had gone to bed, and as it was now late, and he was apparently asleep, they did not choose to disturb him, hoping that by the morning he would be better. About an hour after leaving the house, one of the brothers had occasion to pass the door, and was surprised to find the gate that led to it open. On further investigation, it was found that Robert had risen from bed, and stolen out, shortly after their departure. Search was now made in every direction, and by the

²An exception must here be made in favour of Mr James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who, much to his own credit, and the credit of Tannahill, made a pilgrimage to Paisley, with the express purpose of seeing him. They spent one happy night together, and, next morning, Tannahill convoyed him half-way on the road to Glasgow. On parting, Tannahill, with tears in his eyes, said, “Farewell! we shall never meet again! Farewell! I shall never see you more!” a prediction which was too truly verified.

grey of the morning, the worst fears of the poet's friends were realized, by the discovery of his coat lying at the side of a pool in the vicinity of Paisley, which pointed out where his body was to be found. This melancholy event happened on the 17th of May, 1810, when he had only reached his thirty-sixth year.

Tannahill's appearance was not indicative of superior endowment. He was small in stature, and in manners diffident almost to bashfulness. In mixed company he seldom joined in general conversation, yet from the interest he manifested in all that was said, his silence was never offensive. Among intimate friends he was open and communicative, and often expressed himself with felicity. His sympathies invariably went with the poor and unfortunate, and perhaps it was the result of his education and position in society, that he was jealous of the attentions of the wealthy, and disposed rather to avoid than to court their company. In his disposition he was tender and humane, and extremely attached to his home, his kindred, and his friends. His life was simple and unvaried in its details, but even the uneventful character of his existence renders more striking and more affecting its tragic close. In 1838 an enlarged edition of his poems and songs, with memoirs of the author and of his friend, Robert Archibald Smith, by Mr Philip A. Ramsay, was published in Glasgow.

TAYLOR, JAMES, whose name must ever bear a conspicuous and honourable place in the history of the invention of steam navigation, was born, May 3, 1758, at the village of Leadhills, in Lanarkshire, and received the rudiments of his education at the academy of Closeburn. After fitting himself to enter the medical profession, he was engaged, in the year 1785, by Mr Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, to superintend the education of the two sons of that gentleman, who were in attendance at the university of Edinburgh. It was also the aim of Mr Miller, that Mr Taylor, whose scientific acquirements had been warmly spoken of by the common friend who recommended him to the situation, should assist him in those mechanical pursuits with which for some years he had been in the habit of amusing his leisure hours. In the year just mentioned, Mr Miller was engaged in a series of operations for applying paddle-wheels to vessels, rather with a view to extricating them from perilous situations against the impulse of wind and tide, than with any expectation that such machinery, driven, as he contemplated it to be, by human power alone, could be of use in ordinary navigation. Mr Taylor entered at once into Mr Miller's views, and aided in the preparation of a double vessel, of sixty feet in length, with intermediate paddles, driven by a capstan, which Mr Miller tried in the Firth of Forth, in spring, 1787, against a custom-house wherry, which it easily distanced. On this occasion Mr Taylor became convinced of the utility of the paddles; but, observing that the men were much exhausted by their labour, he was equally convinced that a superior mechanical power was wanting, in order to realize the full value of the invention. Having communicated his thoughts to Mr Miller, he received from that gentleman the following answer:—"I am of the same opinion, and that power is just what I am in search of. My object is to add mechanical aid to the natural power of the wind, to enable vessels to avoid and to extricate themselves from dangerous situations, which they cannot do on their present construction." Invited to co-operate in this object, Mr Taylor applied himself to the consideration of all the mechanical powers already in common use, but without being able to convince himself of the applicability of any of them. At length the steam-engine presented itself to him; and though he might be naturally supposed to have been himself startled at the boldness of such a thought, he soon convinced himself of its being practicable. On suggesting it to Mr Miller, he found he had excited more astonishment at the novelty, than respect for the feasibility of the scheme. Mr Miller allowed the sufficiency of the power; but was disposed to

deny that it could be applied, more particularly in those critical circumstances to obviate which was the chief aim of his own project. "In such cases," said he, "as that disastrous event which happened lately, of the wreck of a whole fleet upon a lee shore, off the coast of Spain, every fire on board must be extinguished, and of course such an engine could be of no use." Mr Taylor was not daunted by these objections, but, on the contrary, the more he thought of the project, the more convinced he became of its practicability. He represented to Mr Miller, that, if not applicable to purposes of general navigation, it might at least prove useful on canals and estuaries. After many conversations, the latter gentleman at length conceded so far to Mr Taylor's suggestion, as to request him to make drawings, for the purpose of showing how the engine could be connected with the paddle-wheels. Mr Taylor did so, and Mr Miller, being still farther satisfied, though as yet, it appears, unconvinced, agreed to be at the expense of an experiment, provided it should not amount to a large sum, and that Mr Taylor should superintend the operations, as he candidly confessed he was a stranger to the use of steam. The two projectors were then at Dalswinton; but it was arranged that, when they should return to Edinburgh in the early part of winter, an engine should be constructed for the purpose. Part of the summer was employed by Mr Miller in drawing up a narrative of his experiments upon shipping, with a view to its being printed and circulated. This he submitted to Mr Taylor for the benefit of his correction; and the latter gentleman, observing that no mention had been made of the application of the steam engine, "I have not done that inadvertently," answered Mr Miller, "but from a wish not to pledge myself to the public for a thing I may never perform: you know my intentions on that subject are as yet conditional." Mr Taylor replied, that he could hardly look upon them in that light, as he was satisfied that any expense which could attach to so small a matter would not prevent him (Mr Miller) from making the experiment; that he considered the mention of the steam engine as of importance; and that it could be alluded to in such a manner as to pledge him to nothing. Mr Miller was convinced, and introduced an allusion to steam, as an agent he might perhaps employ for the propulsion of his vessels. Copies of the paper thus improved were transmitted to the royal family, the ministers, many of the leading members of both houses of parliament, and to all the maritime powers in Europe, besides the president of the United States of America.

In November, 1787, Mr Miller removed as usual to the capital, and Mr Taylor, having been empowered by his employer to proceed about the construction of an engine, recommended to Mr Miller's notice a young man named Symington, who had attempted some alterations upon the steam engine, and was now residing in Edinburgh for his improvement in mechanics. It was agreed that Symington should form an engine on his own plan, and that the experiment should be made in the ensuing summer upon the lake of Dalswinton. The construction of the engine occupied several months, and was not completed at the conclusion of that session of the university; so that Mr Taylor was detained in town, to superintend the operations, for some time after his pupils had returned with their father to the country. When all was ready, he proceeded with Symington to Dalswinton, where, on the 14th of October, 1788, the experiment was made in the presence of Mr Miller and a considerable concourse of spectators. The boat was a double one, and the engine, which had a four inch cylinder, was placed in a frame upon the deck. The experiment was successful beyond the most sanguine wishes of any of the parties concerned. The vessel moved at the rate of five miles an hour, and neither was any awkwardness found in the connexion of the engine with the wheels,

nor hazard apprehended in any considerable degree from the introduction of a furnace into so inflammable a fabric. The experiment was repeated several times during the course of the few ensuing days, and always with perfect success, insomuch that the invention became a subject of great local notoriety. An account of the experiments, drawn up by Mr Taylor, was inserted in the Dumfries Journal newspaper, and the event was also noticed in the Scots Magazine of the ensuing month.

Mr Miller now formed the design of covering his own and Mr Taylor's joint invention by a patent; but, in the first place, it was judged expedient that experiments should be made with a vessel and engine more nearly approaching the common size. For this purpose Mr Taylor went to the Carron foundry, with his engineer, Symington, and there, in the summer of 1789, fitted up a vessel of considerable dimensions, with an engine, of which the cylinder measured eighteen inches in diameter. In the month of November this was placed on the Forth and Clyde canal, in the presence of the Carron Committee of Management, and of the parties chiefly interested. The vessel moved along very smoothly for a space beyond Lock Sixteen, when, on giving the engine full play, the flat boards of the paddles, which had been weakly constructed, began to give way, which put an end to the experiment. The paddles having been reconstructed on a stronger principle, another experiment was made on the 26th of December, when the vessel made easy and uninterrupted progress, at the rate of seven miles an hour. Except in speed, the performances on these occasions were as perfect as any which have since been accomplished by steam-vessels. The project was now conceived, by all parties, to have gone through a sufficient probation, so far as the objects of inland navigation were concerned; and in an account of the latter experiments, drawn up by Mr (afterwards lord) Cullen, and published in the Edinburgh newspapers, February 1790, this view is firmly taken.

On reviewing the expenses of these proceedings, Mr Miller found considerable cause of chagrin in their amount, which, chiefly in consequence, as he said, of the extravagance of the engineer, greatly exceeded what he had been led to expect. Subsequently he devoted his attention and means to agricultural improvements; and Mr Taylor could never prevail on him to resume their project. The cultivation of florine grass at last took such hold of the mind of Mr Miller, that, in the belief of Mr Taylor, no other object on earth could have withdrawn him from it. Mr Fergusson, younger of Craigdarroch, in 1790, endeavoured, but in vain, to engage the interest of the court of Vienna in the new invention.

The indifference of Mr Miller, the direction of public attention to the war which soon after commenced, and the unfavourable situation of Mr Taylor, in an inland part of the country, and unable of himself to do anything, conspired to throw the project for several years into abeyance. At length, in 1801, Mr Symington, who had commenced business at Falkirk, resolved to prosecute a design, in the origination of which he had borne an active and serviceable, though subordinate part. He wished lord Dundas to employ him to fit up a small experimental steam-vessel, which was tried on the Forth and Clyde canal, but, causing much disintegration of the banks, was forbidden by the Company to be ever set in motion again. This vessel was laid up at Lock Sixteen, where it remained for a number of years. Symington was afterwards in terms with the duke of Bridgewater for introducing steam navigation on his grace's canal, and Messrs Miller and Taylor were about to take measures to protect their joint invention from being appropriated by this individual, when the death of the duke, and the abandonment of the scheme, saved them that trouble.

Some time after, Mr Fulton, from the United States of America, accompanied

by Mr Henry Bell of Glasgow, when on a visit to the Carron works, waited on Mr Symington, and inspected the boat which he had fitted up for the Forth and Clyde canal. The consequence was, that, in 1807, the former gentleman launched a steam vessel on the Hudson, and, in 1812, Mr Bell another upon Clyde, being respectively the first vessels of the kind used for the service of the public in the new and old hemispheres. Thus, after all the primary difficulties of the invention had been overcome,—when the bark was ready, as it were, to start from the shore, and waited only for the master to give the word for that purpose,—did two individuals, altogether alien to the project, come in and appropriate the honour of launching it into the open sea. Unquestionably, the merit of these individuals in overcoming many practical difficulties, is very considerable; yet it is clear that they were indebted for the idea to the previous inventions and operations of Messrs Miller and Taylor, and that if the latter gentlemen had, in the one instance, been inclined, and in the other able, to carry their project into effect at the proper time, they would not have been anticipated in this part of the honour, any more than in the suggestion of the paddles and the engine.

It appears that Mr Taylor by no means sat tamely by, while Fulton and Bell were reaping the credit due to their labours. Mr Taylor repeatedly urged Mr Miller to renewed exertions, though always without success; kept his claims as well as he could before the public eye; and, on finding that Mr Symington had obtained a patent, forced him into an agreement to share the profits, none of which, however, were ever realized. When the vast importance of steam navigation had become fully established, the friends of Mr Taylor, who was not in prosperous circumstances, urged upon him the propriety of laying his claims before the government, and soliciting a reward suitable to the magnitude and importance of the discovery. At last, in 1824, he was induced to draw up a statement of his concern in the invention of steam navigation, which he printed and addressed to Sir Henry Parnell, chairman of a select committee of the House of Commons, upon steam boats. He hoped that this narrative might be the means of obtaining from the government some remuneration for the incalculable services he had performed to mankind; but it had no such effect. Bowed down by infirmities, and the fruits of a long life of disappointments, this ingenious man died on the 18th of September, 1825, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

TELFORD, THOMAS, an eminent engineer and constructor of public works, was born about the year 1755, in the parish of Westerkirk in Dumfriesshire. His outset in life was strikingly humble in comparison with its close. He began the world as a working stone-mason in his native parish, and for a long time was only remarkable for the neatness with which he cut the letters upon those frail sepulchral memorials which “teach the rustic moralist to die.” His occupation fortunately afforded a greater number of leisure hours than what are usually allowed by such laborious employments, and these young Telford turned to the utmost advantage in his power. Having previously acquired the elements of learning, he spent all his spare time in poring over such volumes as fell within his reach, with no better light in general than what was afforded by the cottage fire. Under these circumstances the powers of his mind took a direction not uncommon among rustic youths; he became a noted rhymster in the homely style of Ramsay and Fergusson, and, while still a very young man, contributed verses to Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine, under the unpretending signature of “Eskdale Tam.” In one of these compositions, which was addressed to Burns, he sketched his own character, and hinted his own ultimate fate—

Nor pass the tentie curious lad,
 Who o'er the ingle hangs his head,
 And begs of neighbours books to read;
 For hence arise,
 Thy country's sons, who far are spread,
 Baith bold and wise.

Though Mr Telford afterwards abandoned the thriftless trade of versifying, he is said to have retained through life a strong "frater-feeling" for the corps, which he showed in a particular manner on the death of Burns, in exertions for the benefit of his family. Having proceeded to London in quest of work, he had the good fortune to be employed under Sir William Chambers in the building of Somerset house. Here his merit was soon discovered by the illustrious architect, and he experienced promotion accordingly. We are unable to detail the steps by which he subsequently placed himself at the head of the profession of engineering; but it is allowed on all hands that his elevation was owing solely to his consummate ability and persevering industry, unless we are to allow a share in the process to the singular candour and integrity which marked every step in his career. His works are so numerous all over the island, that there is hardly a county in England, Wales, or Scotland, in which they may not be pointed out. The Menai and Conway bridges, the Caledonian canal, the St Katharine's docks, the Holyhead roads and bridges, the Highland roads and bridges, the Chirke and Pontcysulte aqueducts, the canals in Salop, and great works in that county, of which he was surveyor for more than half a century, are some of the traits of his genius which occur to us, and which will immortalize the name of Thomas Telford.

The Menai bridge will probably be regarded by the public as the most imperishable monument of Mr Telford's fame. This bridge over the Bangor ferry, connecting the counties of Caernarvon and Anglesea, partly of stone and partly of iron, on the suspension principle, consists of seven stone arches, exceeding in magnitude every work of the kind in the world. They connect the land with the two main piers, which rise fifty-three feet above the level of the road, over the top of which the chains are suspended, each chain being 1714 feet from the fastenings in the rock. The first three-masted vessel passed under the bridge in 1826. Her topmasts were nearly as high as a frigate, but they cleared twelve feet and a half below the centre of the roadway. The suspending power of the chains was calculated at 2016 tons. The total weight of each chain, 121 tons.

The Caledonian canal is another of Mr Telford's splendid works, in constructing every part of which, though prodigious difficulties were to be surmounted, he was successful. But even this great work does not redound so much to his credit as the roads throughout the same district. That from Inverness to the county of Sutherland, and through Caithness, made not only, so far as respects its construction, but its direction, under Mr Telford's orders, is superior in point of line and smoothness, to any part of the road of equal continuous length between London and Inverness. This is a remarkable fact, which, from the great difficulties he had to overcome in passing through a rugged, hilly, and mountainous district, incontrovertibly establishes his great skill in the engineering department, as well as in the construction of great public communications.

Mr Telford was not more remarkable for his great professional abilities than for his sterling worth in private life. His easiness of access, and the playfulness of his disposition, even to the close of life, endeared him to a numerous circle of friends, including all the most distinguished men of his time. For

some years before his death, he had withdrawn himself in a great measure from professional employment, and amused his leisure by writing a detailed account of the principal works he had planned, and lived to see executed. He died September 9, 1834, in his seventy-ninth year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

THOMSON, ANDREW, D.D., an eminent modern divine, and leader in the national church courts, was born at Sanquhar, in Dumfriesshire, July 11, 1779. His father, Dr John Thomson, was originally minister of Sanquhar, afterwards of Markinch in Fife, and lastly one of the ministers of Edinburgh. In early life, the subject of this memoir exhibited no indications of those singular talents which afterwards distinguished him; and he was several years at college before he discovered any predilection for that profession of which he was destined to become so great an ornament, or felt the influence of that spirit which is so necessary for its effectual exercise. The precise period when he first turned his attention to the ministry, is not known; but, in 1802, he was licensed to preach the gospel by the presbytery of Kelso; and, on the 11th of March of the same year, was ordained minister of the parish of Sprouston: shortly after which he married, and, by a happy union, added greatly to his felicity.

Though Dr Thomson's earlier years presented no indications of those powerful talents which raised him, in more advanced life, to a high place amongst the eminent men of his country and time, he had not long ascended the pulpit before these talents became conspicuous. During his ministry at Sprouston, he was distinguished by that unbending integrity of character, that zeal in the sacred cause to which he had devoted his life, and that vigorous eloquence which procured him so high a reputation in the elevated sphere in which he was afterwards placed. Dr Thomson now, also, began to take an active part in the business of the church courts, of which he was a member; and further aided the interests of religion, by publishing a catechism on the Lord's Supper, which subsequently passed through many editions, and has proved eminently beneficial and useful.

In 1808, Dr Thomson was removed to the East church of Perth, where he laboured, assiduously and successfully, till the spring of 1810, when he received a presentation from the magistrates and council of Edinburgh to the New Grey Friars' church in that city. He was now in a situation, where his singular talents could be fully appreciated, and where they had a field wide enough for their exercise: of these advantages he did not fail to avail himself. He applied himself to the discharge of his sacred duties with redoubled ardour, and with a vigour and activity both of body and mind, that at once procured him an extraordinary share of public admiration. His powerful eloquence and fearless character, pointed him out as no ordinary man, and made an impression on the public mind, which has but few parallels in the history of ministerial labours. Indefatigable and zealous, in a singular degree, he left no hour unemployed, and no means untried, to forward the good work in which he was engaged. He laboured incessantly; and such was the vigour and grasp of his comprehensive mind, and the versatility, as well as brilliancy of his talents, that he could, at one and the same time, bring the most various and wholly different means, to bear upon the one great end which he had in view, the spiritual and temporal happiness of mankind. To the discussion of every variety of subject within the sphere of his calling, he came alike prepared, and on each shed the strong light of his powerful intellect, exciting the admiration of all who heard him, by his manly eloquence, and convincing most, it is to be hoped, by the force of his reasoning.

Among the other means to which Dr Thomson had recourse to promote the interests of religion, was the publication of a periodical work, entitled "The

Christian Instructor." This work he commenced, with the assistance of several of his clerical brethren, a few months after his settlement in Edinburgh; and for many years he discharged the duties of its editor, besides contributing largely to the work itself. It is almost unnecessary to add, after what has been said of Dr Thomson, that the "Christian Instructor" is a work of singular merit, and, altogether, perhaps, one of the ablest of the kind which the cause of Christianity has produced.

Dr Thomson's literary labours were not, however, confined at this period to the "Christian Instructor." He contributed, besides, many valuable articles to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia; all of which are distinguished by that nervous style and accuracy of conception, which so peculiarly belonged to their author.

The extraordinary merits of Dr Thomson had early forced themselves on the public notice; but they were now become so obvious and incontestable, as to engross a very large share of the public attention, and to form a subject of its consideration. The result of this general feeling was, his appointment to St George's church, which took place on the 16th of June, 1814; one of the most important and dignified charges in the church of Scotland. In this conspicuous situation, he rapidly extended his reputation, and increased the number of his friends; and, ultimately, acquired an influence over his congregation, composed of the most influential persons in the metropolis, which few preachers have ever enjoyed. Previously to his appointment to St George's, Dr Thomson had not been in the habit of writing out his discourses. He trusted to the natural promptness with which his ideas presented and arranged themselves, and to the remarkable fluency of expression with which he was gifted; and these did not fail him: but he now thought it advisable, as he was to preach to a more refined class of persons, to secure more correctness for his discourses, by committing them to paper, before delivering them from the pulpit. And in the pursuance of this resolution, he weekly composed and wrote two sermons, and this in the midst of other avocations, which alone would have occupied all the time of any man of less bodily and mental activity than he was possessed of.

To the ordinary duties of the Sunday, Dr Thomson added the practice of catechising the young persons of his congregation, devoting to this exercise the interval between the forenoon and afternoon services. He also held week-day meetings in the church, for the purpose of instructing in the principles of religion, as they are taught in the Shorter Catechism; and, to complete the system of moral and religious culture, which his unwearied zeal had planned out, he instituted a week-day school, for the benefit of those of his young parishioners whose circumstances either prevented their attending church, or rendered a greater extent of tuition necessary than he could afford to bestow on Sunday. But he did still more than merely institute this little seminary. He compiled suitable books for the different classes it comprised, and crowned the good work, by acting himself as their teacher,—as the teacher of the poorest and humblest of his flock.

With all this devotion to the higher and more important duties of his sacred office, Dr Thomson did not neglect those of a minor character. Amongst these, church music had an especial share of his attention. Together with his other rare endowments, he possessed an exquisite ear and taste for music, and not only introduced an improved psalmody into the Scottish church, but added to it several eminently beautiful compositions of his own. Admirable as Dr Thomson was in all his relations to his flock, he was in none more so, than in that of the personal friend, the soother of affliction, and the alleviator of domestic misery. His private labours of this kind were very great, and eminently successful. His presence never failed to excite a new feeling of animation,

nor his words to inspire hope. To the sick and the bereaved his visits were peculiarly acceptable; for his manner and his language were kind, and soothing, and conciliating, in a remarkable degree: and, although these could not always lessen pain, they never missed of reconciling the sufferer to that which was inevitable.

Besides thus faithfully and laboriously discharging the various important duties of his office, Dr Thomson took an active part in all the church judicatories of which he was a member. In these, his singular talents and high character, as as might be expected, always secured for him the first place, and at length acquired for him the distinction, conceded silently but spontaneously, of being considered the leader of the evangelical party in the church to which he had attached himself. Amongst the other characteristics of that party, was a strong feeling of hostility to the system of patronage; and to this feeling Dr Thomson gave utterance in the General Assembly, on several occasions, in a strain of eloquence, and with a power of reasoning, that will not soon be forgotten.

Although a zealous member of the church of Scotland, and strongly attached to her institutions, Dr Thomson's liberal and enlightened mind kept him entirely aloof from anything approaching to bigotry. With dissenters of all descriptions he maintained a friendly understanding. He made every allowance for difference of opinion on points of comparatively inferior importance; and, when he was satisfied that a genuine spirit of Christianity existed, never allowed such difference of opinion to disturb that harmony which he wisely and benevolently conceived ought to exist between those who, after all, laboured in the same vineyard, and to obtain the same end.

Ever ready to lend his powerful aid to all rational schemes for promoting the interests of religion and extending its sacred influence, he eagerly enrolled himself amongst the supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and while that society adhered to the principles which were laid down at its institution, he continued to take a warm interest in its affairs, and laboured with tongue and pen to secure success to its efforts. On the departure, however, of this society from one of the leading conditions by which it was understood it should be regulated, namely, that the copies of the Bible which it issued, should be purely scriptural, and unaccompanied by note or comment of any kind; Dr Thomson felt himself called upon, as a minister of the gospel, not only to withdraw his support from it, but to oppose, by every means in his power, the continuance of a system so injurious to the best interests of religion. Into the well known controversy which ensued, and which has been called "the Apocrypha Controversy," he entered with all his characteristic zeal; and so effectually employed his powerful talents during its progress, that his enemies, whatever cause they may have found for rejoicing in the issue, could find but little in the circumstance of having provoked his resentment.

The last great public effort of Dr Thomson was in behalf of the slaves in our West India colonies; and, in the prosecution of this humane and philanthropic work, he, on several occasions, made displays of oratory, which have been seldom equalled, and still seldomer surpassed. He demanded immediate emancipation, and supported this demand with an eloquence and power of reasoning, which were altogether overpowering.

These mighty labours, and unceasing exertions in the causes of religion and philanthropy, were destined, however, to come to a premature termination. Dr Thomson's constitution was naturally strong, and in person he was robust and athletic; but unremitting study, and incessant toil of both body and mind, had their usual effects. His health was impaired; and for some time before his death, a secret sensation gave him warning that that event would take

place soon, and suddenly. The fulfilment of this melancholy anticipation took place on the 9th of February, 1831. On that day, he appeared in his usual health, and went through the ordinary routine of business with his accustomed activity and energy, taking the same interest in everything that came under his consideration, as he had been accustomed to do; and altogether presenting nothing, in either manner or appearance, to indicate the near approach of that catastrophe which was to deprive religion and morality of one of their ablest supports, and society of one of its brightest ornaments. Having completed the out-door business of the day, Dr Thomson returned home about five o'clock in the afternoon, and while standing on the threshold of his own door, just previous to his entering the house, he suddenly fell down, and expired without a struggle or a groan. His remains were interred in St Cuthbert's church-yard; and if anything were wanting to impress those who have only read or heard of him, with a full conception of the estimation in which he was held by all ranks and denominations in the metropolis, it would be found in a description of his funeral,—the most numerous attended, perhaps, that had ever been witnessed in the Scottish capital. Dr Thomson's literary labours exhibit a long array of religious works of various descriptions, including lectures, sermons, and addresses. To these there is to be added, a volume of posthumous "Sermons and Sacramental Exhortations," published in Edinburgh in the same year in which he died; with a memoir prefixed.

THOMSON, JAMES, a celebrated poet, was born, September 11, 1700, at Ednam, near Kelso, of which parish his father was minister. Beatrix Trotter, the mother of the poet, was daughter and co-heiress of a small portion of land at Foggo in Berwickshire, and is described as having been a woman of "a singular fervour of imagination," at the same time that she shone in the domestic and social virtues. The difficulty with which his father supported his family, having nine children, occasioned his removal, in the early childhood of the poet, to the parish of Southdean, in the presbytery of Jedburgh, where the stipend, though not large, was somewhat better than that which he had enjoyed at Ednam. The change was from a low and beautifully ornamented part of the country, and the close neighbourhood of a considerable market town, to an elevated pastoral district, enlivened only by the slender waters of the Jed, and frequented by few except the lonely angler. In the church-yard of Southdean, may yet be seen the humble monument of the father of the poet, with the inscription almost obliterated. The manse in which that individual reared his large family, of whom one was to become so illustrious, was what would now be described as a small thatched cottage.¹ The poet received the rudiments of his education at the school of Jedburgh, and was not distinguished among his youthful companions, by remarkable superiority of parts. He was still, however, very young, when his talents for writing verses attracted the attention of several respectable individuals in that part of the country. Mr Riccarton, minister of the neighbouring parish of Hobkirk, and a man of taste and learning, observed and encouraged this talent; and young Thomson was occasionally invited, on account of his promising abilities, to spend his vacations at the country seats of Sir William Bennet of Chesters, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and lord Cranstoun. He was so little pleased, however, with the poetry he produced at this early period, that on every new-year's day he burnt all that he had composed during the foregoing year. At a proper age he was sent to the university of Edinburgh. According to tradition, a servant of his father conducted him to the capital, seated behind himself on horseback; but such was his reluctance to forsake the country, that he had no sooner been left to himself in the city, than

¹ Information by Mr Richmond, the present minister of Southdean.

heset out on foot for home, and was back at his father's manse (between fifty and sixty miles distant) as soon as the man and the horse. When his parents remonstrated with him respecting this disobedient conduct, he passionately observed that "he could study as well on the haughs of Sou'den [so Southdean is commonly pronounced] as in Edinburgh."² He was, nevertheless, prevailed upon to commence a course of study in Edinburgh.

In the second year of his attendance at the university, his studies were interrupted by the sudden death of his father. He was summoned home to receive his parent's dying benediction, but came too late. This circumstance contributed to increase his sorrow, and his filial piety was expressed on this mournful occasion in instances of conduct which his surviving relations afterwards delighted to recollect.

His mother now realized as much as she could from her own little inheritance, and removed with her family to Edinburgh, in order to give them what persons of her rank in Scotland generally consider as the best of all endowments, a good education. James re-commenced his studies, and with some reluctance was induced by his friends to enter upon a course of divinity, with the view of applying his talents to the church. After the usual attendance on the professor of theology, he delivered a probationary exercise in the hall; but his diction was so poetically splendid, that the professor reproved him for using language unintelligible to a popular audience; which so disgusted him with his theological pursuits, that he seems to have, soon after this event, resolved to abandon them. He had already contributed to a poetical volume, entitled the *Edinburgh Miscellany*, which was compiled by a society of young aspirants in verse who were attending the college, and among whom was David Mallet. About the same time he acted as tutor to lord Binning,—the son of the sixth earl of Haddington, and himself a poet; to whom he had probably been introduced by his mother's friend, lady Grizzel Baillie, mother-in-law to his lordship, and whose "*Memoirs*" possess so much tender interest; who, finding him unlikely to do well in any other pursuit, advised him to try his fortune in London as a poet, and promised him some countenance and assistance. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1725, he took leave of his mother, whom he was never more to behold, and proceeded by sea to London, carrying with him little besides his poem of "*Winter*." On arriving in the metropolis, he found his way to his college friend Mallet, who then acted as preceptor to the two sons of the duke of Montrose; he also sought out Mr Duncan Forbes, afterwards president of the court of session, who, having conceived a favourable opinion of his talents in Scotland, was now disposed to promote his views by all means in his power. He was at first in considerable difficulties for the means of subsistence, and is found writing to an ancient friend of his family, the minister of Ancrum, for the loan of twelve pounds, in order to pay off some little debts he had contracted since his arrival in the metropolis, and to procure necessaries, till he should raise something by the sale of his deceased mother's lands of Whithope. By the friendly intervention of Mallet, a bookseller named Millar was induced to buy "*Winter*" at a low price, and it was accordingly published in 1726, with a dedication to Sir Spencer Compton, and several recommendatory verses by his friends. Though unnoticed for some time, it gradually attained that estimation which it has ever since maintained, and soon procured for the author the friendship of all the men then distinguished in literature. His acquaintance was sought by Dr Rundle, afterwards bishop of Derry, who recommended him to the lord chancellor Talbot. In 1727, he published another of his Seasons, "*Summer*," which he at first proposed dedicating to lord Binning, but eventually

² The editor is obliged for this curious anecdote to Mr Richmenl.

by the disinterested advice of that nobleman, inscribed to Mr Dodington, afterwards lord Melcombe, whom Binning thought likely to advance his interest. The same year he gave to the public two more of his productions; "A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton," who died in that year; and "Britannia," a poetical invective against the ministry, whom the nation then thought not forward enough in resenting the depredations of the Spaniards. His "Spring," published in 1728, and addressed to the countess of Hertford, afterwards duchess of Somerset, procured him an invitation to pass a summer at lord Hertford's country-seat. The Seasons were not completed by the addition of "Autumn," till 1730, when he published his poems collectively. Autumn was addressed to Mr Onslow.

In the same year, he brought upon the stage, at Drury Lane, his tragedy of *Sophonisba*, which raised such expectation, that every rehearsal was dignified with a splendid audience, collected to anticipate the delight that was preparing for the public. It was observed, however, that nobody was affected, and that the company rose as from a moral lecture. It was one of the many proofs that dramatic genius is a very different thing from the power of putting in dialogue fine sentiment and poetical description. Not long afterwards, the recommendation of Dr Rundle caused him to be selected as the travelling associate of the honourable Mr Talbot, eldest son of the chancellor, with whom he visited most of the courts and countries of the European continent. Such an opportunity could not fail to be a source of much improvement to one, whose mind was well prepared for the observation of the different forms of society, and appearances in external nature. The idea of his poem on *Liberty* suggested itself to him during this tour, and after his return he employed nearly two years in its completion. He was now enabled to pursue his studies at leisure, having been remunerated for his attendance on Mr Talbot, by the place of secretary of the briefs, which was nearly a sinecure. His poem "*Liberty*" at length appeared, being inscribed to Frederick, prince of Wales, and opening with an affectionate tribute to the memory of Mr Talbot, who had died during his journey with the poet. Thomson congratulated himself upon this work as the noblest effort of his mind; but it was received with coldness by the public, and has never been so generally read as the rest of his compositions. In reality, a long historical piece in blank verse, the incidents of which were taken from common reading, was not very likely to prove attractive.

The lord chancellor soon after died, and, Thomson having neglected to apply for a renewal of his place, it was bestowed by the succeeding judge, lord Hardwicke, upon another. The poet was, therefore, reduced once more to a dependence on his talents for support. It is creditable to him, that, while in this painful situation, he showed, in his letters to a friend in Edinburgh, an affectionate anxiety to assist the narrow circumstances of his sisters, Jean and Elizabeth, who then lived with Mr Gusthart, one of the ministers of the city. He was introduced, about this time, by Mr (afterwards lord) Littleton, to the prince of Wales; and, being questioned as to the state of his affairs, he answered, "that they were in a more poetical posture than formerly:" which induced the prince to bestow upon him a pension of one hundred pounds a-year.

In 1738, his second tragedy, entitled "*Agamemnon*," was brought upon the stage at Drury Lane. Pope, who had favoured the author, when in Italy, with a poetical epistle, countenanced the performance on the first night by his presence; and was received in the house with a general clap. It had the fate of most mythological pieces, and was only endured, not favoured. The reception it met with, is said to have thrown the author into such a copious perspiration,

that he found it necessary to change his wig, before he could join a party of friends at supper. Another tragedy, which he offered to the theatre, was "Edward and Eleonora;" but it was prevented from appearing by the lord chamberlain, on account of its political complexion. In 1740, he wrote, in conjunction with Mallet, the "Masque of Alfred," which was performed before the prince of Wales, at Cliefden House, on the birth-day of the princess Augusta. In this piece was introduced the song, "Rule Britannia," which has ever since maintained so high a popularity. It is understood to be the composition of Thomson.³

The most successful of his dramatic compositions, "Tancred and Sigismunda," was brought out at Drury Lane, in 1745: it is still occasionally acted. His poem, entitled "The Castle of Indolence," which had been several years under his polishing hand, and which is perhaps the most perfect and pleasing of all his compositions, was published in 1746. His friend, lord Lyttleton, was now in power, and procured him the place of surveyor-general of the Leeward Islands; from which, when his deputy was paid, he received about three hundred pounds a-year. He did not live long to enjoy this state of comparative independence. He was in the habit of walking from London to his house at Richmond, for the sake of exercise. One evening, after he had proceeded a certain distance, being fearful that he would be too late, he took a boat for the remainder of the way, not observing that the dews of the evening, and the cold air of the river, were dangerous to a person whose pores were opened by the perspiration of a hasty walk. The cold which he caught on this occasion, terminated in a fever, which carried him off, August 27, 1748, when he had nearly completed the forty-eighth year of his age. He was buried under a plain stone in Richmond church, where the earl of Buchan, forty years afterwards, erected a tablet to his memory. A monument, however, had been raised to him at an earlier period in Westminster Abbey. The poet left a tragedy, entitled "Coriolanus," which was brought upon the stage at Covent Garden, in 1749, and realized a considerable sum for the benefit of his relations.

It is as a descriptive poet that Thomson has gained a permanent fame; for all his compositions, except of that kind, have sunk into comparative neglect. His "Seasons" has now kept its place amongst the poetical classics of England, for upwards of a century; and still there is no perceptible tendency to decline in its popularity. In reference to this poem, Dr Johnson has written as follows; and no further criticism seems to be necessary:—"As a writer, Thomson is entitled to one praise of the highest kind,—his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, is original. His blank verse is no more the blank verse of Milton, or of any other poet, than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and he always thinks as a man of genius: he looks round on nature, and on life, with the eye which nature only bestows on a poet, the eye that distinguishes, in every thing presented to its view, whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained, and with a mind that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of the 'Seasons,' wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shows him, and that he never yet felt what Thomson impresses. His descriptions of extended scenes, and general effects, bring before us the whole magnificence of nature, whether pleasing or dreadful. The gaiety of

³ It appears from the letters published by the earl of Buchan, that Thomson at this time rented a house at the upper end of Kew Lane; and that the Amanda whom he so frequently celebrated in his verses, was a Miss Young, sister of Mrs Robertson, wife of the surgeon to the household at Kew.

Spring, the splendour of Summer, the tranquillity of Autumn, and the horrors of Winter, take, in their turns, possession of the mind. The poet leads us through the appearances of things, as they are successively varied by the vicissitudes of the year; and imparts to us so much of his own enthusiasm, that our thoughts expand with his imagery, and kindle with his sentiments. Nor is the naturalist without his share in the entertainment; for he is assisted to recollect and to combine, to arrange his discoveries, and to amplify the sphere of his contemplation."

"Thomson," says Dr Aikin, "was in person large and ungainly, with a heavy unanimated countenance, and nothing in his appearance or manner in mixed society indicating the man of genius or refinement. He was, however, easy and cheerful with select friends, by whom he was singularly beloved for the kindness of his heart, and his freedom from all the little malignant passions, which too often debase the literary character. His benevolence is said to be more ardent than active, for indolence was extremely prevalent in his nature; and though he would readily give to the utmost of his ability, he could not overcome his reluctance to exert himself in doing services. He was fond of indulgences of every kind, and was more attached to the grosser pleasures of sense, than the sentimental delicacy of his writings would lead a reader to suppose: but this is a common failing. No poet has deserved more praise for the moral tenor of his works. Undoubted philanthropy, enlarged ideas of the dignity of man, and of his rights; love of virtue, public and private, and of a devotional spirit, narrowed by no views of sect or party, give soul to his verse, when not merely descriptive: and no one can rise from the perusal of his pages, without melioration of his principles or feelings."

The remark here made as to the attachment of Thomson "to the grosser pleasures of sense," demands some comment. The purity of his writings has been celebrated by lord Lyttleton, and generally allowed by the world; and, excepting the above remark, which is to be traced to the report of Savage to Dr Johnson, and has not been generally credited, no charge has ever, till lately, been laid against the private character of the poet.

In a work lately published, under the title of "Records of my Life," a posthumous autobiography of Mr John Taylor, the author of the humorous poem of "Monsieur Tonson," a curious tale is related, on the authority of the late Mr George Chalmers. "Mr Chalmers," says Taylor, "had heard that an old housekeeper of Thomson's was alive, and still resided at Richmond. Having determined to write a life of the celebrated poet of his country, he went to Richmond, thinking it possible he might obtain some account of the domestic habits of the poet, and other anecdotes which might impart interest and novelty to his narration. He found that the old housekeeper had a good memory, and was of a communicative turn. She informed him Thomson had been actually married in early life, but that his wife had been taken by him merely for her person, and was so little calculated to be introduced to his great friends, or indeed his friends in general, that he had kept her in a state of obscurity for many years; and when he at last, from some compunctious feelings, required her to come and live with him at Richmond, he still kept her in the same secluded state, so that she appeared to be only one of the old domestics of the family. At length his wife, experiencing little of the attention of a husband, though otherwise provided with every thing that could make her easy, if not comfortable, asked his permission to go for a few weeks to visit her own relations in the north. Thomson gave his consent, exacting a promise that she would not reveal her real situation to any of his or her own family. She agreed; but when she had advanced no farther on her journey than to London she was

there taken ill, and in a short time died. The news of her death was immediately conveyed to Thomson, who ordered a decent funeral; and she was buried, as the old housekeeper said, in the churchyard of old Marylebone church. Mr Chalmers, who was indefatigable in his inquiries, was not satisfied with the old woman's information, but immediately went and examined the church register; where he found the following entry—'Died, Mary Thomson, a stranger'—in confirmation of the housekeeper's testimony."

There is little, perhaps, in this story to invalidate the commonly received notions as to the worth of Thomson's character; though, allowing it to be true, it certainly is not calculated to elevate him in the estimation of the world. The present writer has, of course, no wish to degrade any of the eminent names of the past; but he thinks it worth while, by way of correcting a piece of literary history, to mention that the late earl of Buchan possessed a poem in Thomson's hand-writing, and bearing all the erasures, interpolations, and other peculiarities, that could mark the composition as his own, which displayed a marked degree of licentiousness. He has, therefore, been satisfied that Thomson, though he had the good sense to publish nothing of an impure character, was not incapable of delighting in gross ideas, and composing lines—

“——— which, dying, he could wish to blot.”

THOMSON, (DR) WILLIAM, an ingenious, versatile, and multifarious writer, was born in 1746, in the parish of Forteviot, in Perthshire. His father, though in humble, was in decent circumstances, earning a livelihood by uniting the businesses of carpenter, builder, and farmer. Young Thomson was instructed in the first rudiments of education by his mother, and was then sent to the parochial school. He afterwards attended the grammar-school of Perth, and on leaving it proceeded to St Andrews, where his abilities attracted the notice and procured him the patronage of the Earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university. This munificent nobleman, after satisfying himself, by personal examination, that young Thomson's high reputation as a classical scholar was not exaggerated, admitted him into his family in the capacity of librarian, and shortly after directed his views to the church, with the intention of presenting him to one of the livings in his gift.

Mr Thomson prosecuted his theological studies, first at St Andrews, and then at Edinburgh, and, having obtained a license to preach, was appointed assistant to the minister of Monivaird. Unfortunately neither his tastes nor habits accorded with the clerical calling. His temper was irascible, and he delighted more in field sports and jovial companionship than in the discharge of his professional duties. The complaints of the parishioners induced him to resign his office, and he resolved to try his fortune in London as a man of letters. In this he was at first far from successful. At length, through the influence of his distinguished friends, Drs Robertson and Blair, he was chosen to continue the History of Philip III. of Spain, a work begun by Dr Robert Watson, principal of the United Colleges of St Andrews, but which that gentleman left unfinished at his death, which happened in 1780. This work Dr Thomson completed in a manner highly creditable to his talents, and so much to the satisfaction of the public, that he soon found himself surrounded with friends, and his hands filled with employment. The former procured him about this period, wholly unsolicited on his part, the degree of LL.D. from the university of Glasgow. Dr Thomson now became a regular London author, being ready to write on any subject, and for any one who should employ his versatile talents. Business increased apace upon him, and from this period till near the close of his life, extending to upwards of five and thirty years, he continued in close connection with the press, and with the exception

of poetry, went, in that time, creditably through every department of English literature. Nothing came amiss to him; history, biography, voyages, travels and memoirs, novels and romances, pamphlets and periodicals. In all of these he wrote largely, and wrote well. In his literary labours he was indefatigable. Night and day he wrought with unwearying perseverance, and, by dint of this industry, associated with a remarkable facility in composition, he accomplished, in the course of his life, a greater amount of literary work, and of a greater variety of character, than perhaps any English writer who preceded him. Amongst the most important of his avowed works are, "The Man in the Moon," a novel; "Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa," a compilation from other works, published in 1782; a translation of "A History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1688, to the Accession of George I. in 1714," from the Latin of Cunningham, 2 volumes 4to, 1787; "Memoirs of War in Asia," 1788; "Mammoth, or Human Nature displayed on a Grand Scale," a novel, 1789; "Travels in the Western Hebrides, from 1782 to 1790," from notes by the Rev. John Lane Buchanan, A.M., missionary minister to the Isles from the church of Scotland, 1793. Dr Thomson also largely assisted in a work which appeared about this period, entitled, "Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Russia," by A. Smith, Esq.

Numerous as this list is, it comprises but a very small portion of our author's literary achievements, and gives but a faint idea of the extent and variety of his labours. He contributed largely, besides, to various newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals of the day. He also frequently acted as a reporter, and is said to have greatly excelled in this department of literary labour. For many years he published a weekly abridgment of politics in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, but lost this employment in 1798, in consequence of some political transgressions. In the latter years of his life, he was engaged in bringing up the arrears of Dodsley's *Annual Register*, of which he compiled the historical part from 1790 to 1800 inclusive. Amongst the last of his literary performances, (and it is a remarkable proof of the variety of his attainments,) was a work entitled "Memoirs relative to Military Tactics," dedicated to his royal highness, the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the forces. This work, which was begun in 1805, and finished in the ensuing year, was reckoned no inconsiderable addition to that department of literature to which it belongs, and is said to have been looked upon with favour by those competent to judge of its merits. Towards the close of his life, Dr Thomson wholly resigned his literary labours, and retired to Kensington, where he died, in decent, but not by any means affluent circumstances, on the 16th of March, 1817, in the 71st year of his age, leaving behind him a reputation very far from being proportioned, either to the extent of his labours, or to the amount of his abilities and acquirements.

TURNBULL, WILLIAM, bishop of Glasgow, and lord privy seal of Scotland; descended from the Turnbulls of Minto, in Roxburghshire, was born in the early part of the fifteenth century. Having been educated for the church, he entered into orders, and was appointed prebend of Balenrick (connected with which dignity was the lordship of Prevan) in the year 1440. In the year 1445, he was preferred to be secretary and keeper of the privy seal; at which time, as appears by the act of council, he was called William Turnbull, lord of Prevan. He was shortly after this inaugurated Doctor of Laws, and made archdeacon of St Andrews, within the bounds of Lothian. By some writers, he is said to have been about this time bishop of Dunkeld; but this, we think, is doubtful. In the year 1447, he was promoted to the see of Glasgow, upon the death of bishop Bruce, and was consecrated in the year 1448.

No sooner was bishop Turnbull settled in the see, than he set about erecting or founding a college in the city. For this purpose, a bull, at the request of king James II., was procured from pope Nicholas V., constituting a university, to continue in all time to come, in the city of Glasgow, "it being ane notable place, with gude air, and plenty of provisions for human life." The pope, by his apostolical authority, ordained that the doctors, masters, readers, and students of the university of Glasgow, should enjoy all the privileges, liberties, honours, exemptions, and immunities, which he had granted to the city of Bononia. He likewise appointed William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, and his successors in that see, chancellors of the university, and to have the same authority over the doctors, masters, readers, and scholars, as the chancellors of the university of Bononia. This bull is dated at Rome, January 7, 1450. By the care of the bishop and his chapter, a body of statutes was prepared, and a university established the following year, 1451.

The university consisted, besides the chancellor, of a rector, and masters of the four faculties, who had taken their degrees in other colleges; and students, who, after a course of study, might be promoted to academical degrees. That the classes in the university might commence with some degree of celebrity, a bull had been procured from the pope, and was now published, granting an universal indulgence to all faithful Christians, who should visit the cathedral of Glasgow in the year 1451. The first rector was David Cadzow, who was re-elected in 1452. During the first two years, upwards of a hundred members were incorporated, most of them secular or regular clergy, canons, rectors, vicars, abbots, priors, and monks. The clergy attended the university the more willingly, that the bishop had procured royal charters and acts of parliament, exempting them from all taxes and public burdens, and from their residence in their own cures. The whole incorporated members, students, as well as doctors and masters, were divided into four parts, called the *Quatuor Nationes*, according to the place of their nativity. The whole realm of Scotland and the isles was divided into four districts, under the names of Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany, and Rothesay; a meeting of the whole was annually called the day after St Crispin's day; and, being divided into four nations, each nation by itself chose a procurator and intrant, and the intrants meeting by themselves, made choice of a rector and a deputation of each nation, who were assistants and assessors to the rector. The rector and his deputation had various and important functions. They were judges in all criminal causes, wherein any member of the university was a party. Every member who either sued or answered before any other court, was guilty of perjury, and incurred the penalty of expulsion. The ecclesiastics in the university, of course, to whatever diocese they belonged, could no longer be called before their rural deans. All members were incorporated by the rector and deputation, after taking an oath to obey the rector and his successors, to observe the statutes, preserve the privileges of the university, and keep its secrets, revealing nothing to its prejudice, whatever station in society they might afterwards attain. The rector and deputies were also the council of the college. It was their business to deliberate upon, and digest all matters to be brought before the congregation of the doctors and masters, whose determinations in such cases were accounted, in respect of authority, next to the statutes. Two other office-bearers were chosen annually, on the day after St Crispin's, namely, a *bursarius*, who kept the university purse, and accounted for all his intronissions; and a promoter, whose business it was to see to the observation of the statutes, and to bring delinquents before the rector's court, which had power to enforce the statutes, or to dispense with them, in certain cases. The second division of the university was

into its different faculties, four of which, in the pope's bull, are specified by name, Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, and the Arts. All others are comprehended in a general clause, *quacunque licita facultate*. In these times, the professions of theology, canon, and civil laws, were denominated the three learned professions, as being the only ones in which learning was thought necessary. They alone fitted men for honourable or profitable employments, for being admitted to dignities in the church or the state; and to train men to eminence in these professions, was the original intention of universities. The arts, however, under which were comprehended logic, physics, and morals, being considered as necessary to these professions, formed an indispensable part of study in every university. The universities were all incorporated by the popes, who appear to have borrowed their plan from that of incorporated towns and burghs, the university corresponding to the whole incorporation of the burgh, and the different faculties to the different companies of trades or crafts into which the burgh is divided. The companies in the incorporated towns, were anciently called *collegia*, or colleges; and the whole incorporation, comprehending all the companies, was called the *universitas* of that town. These names, by analogy, were at first applied to corporations of the learned professions, and at length appropriated solely to them. The government of every faculty was similar to that of the university. Each had its own statutes, determining the time of study, and the exercises and examinations necessary for attaining degrees in that faculty. Each chose annually its own dean, its own *bursarius*, and sometimes four deputations, as a council to the dean. Of the three higher faculties in this university, nothing is known, there being no record of their statutes or transactions extant. A third division in the college was made, according to the academical degree of every member. The highest degree in theology, canon and civil law, was that of doctor in the arts. In all the faculties, there were two degrees by which a man rose to the highest. These were bachelor and licentiate. The degree of licentiate, as well as that of doctor or master, was conferred by the chancellor or vice-chancellor. The requisites to all the degrees, were a certain time of study, having heard certain books prelected upon, and performed certain exercises, and gone through certain examinations. The age of fifteen was necessary for being made a bachelor of arts, and twenty to become a master. It was forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to give any man the title of master, by word or writing, who had not attained that degree; and the penalty was still heavier, if any man took it to himself, without having obtained it in the regular manner. Nor can we feel surprised at degrees being thus carefully guarded, seeing they were held to be of divine institution, and were always conferred by the chancellor, or vice-chancellor, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Some years after the university was founded, a number of the students being young men to whom tuition as well as teaching was necessary, provision was made that they should live and eat in one house, which was called *Pedagogium*, or the college of arts. Here they were taught and governed by certain masters, called *Regentes Artibus*. This college was at first on the south side of the Rottenrow, near the cathedral; but afterwards a tenement was bequeathed for it by lord Hamilton, situated where the college now stands. There were at first in the university, three regents in the arts, viz., Alexander Geddes, a Cistercian monk; Duncan Burch, and William Arthurlie. Afterwards there were sometimes two, and sometimes only one. This seems to have been the most laborious and least coveted office in the university. Besides teaching and presiding in disputations, every lawful day, the regents lived within the college, ate at a common table with the students of arts, visited the rooms of the students before nine

at night, when the gates were shut, and at five in the morning, and assisted in all examinations for degrees in the faculties of arts. For many years the office had no salary, and the fees paid by the students were very small. All that held the office, two only excepted, kept it but for a short time; and often one, who was not a member of the faculty, was called to the office; which renders it probable that there was no competition in those days, either for the office itself, or for the patronage of it; but, on the contrary, some difficulty was experienced in finding persons qualified to fill it, or who were willing to take it. James II., the year after its foundation, granted a royal charter in favour of the university, by which the rectors, the deans of the faculties, the procurators of the four nations, the masters, regents, and scholars, with the beadles, writers, stationers, and parchment makers, were exempted from all taxes, watchings, and wardings, weapon-schawings, &c.; but it had no property, either of lands, houses, or rents. The *congregatio universitatis* was always held at the cathedral. The doctors and masters met sometimes at the convent of the Dominicans, or *predicatores*, as they were called, where all the lectures we find mentioned in theology, canon and civil law, were read. There was a university purse, into which perquisites, paid on being incorporated at examinations and promotions to degrees, were put. From this purse, after it had accumulated for some years, cups of ceremony were furnished; but to defray the expense of a silver rod or mace, to be borne before the rector on solemn occasions, it was necessary to tax all the incorporated members, on which occasion David Cadzow, the first rector, gave twenty nobles. The first property the college acquired was two or three chaplainaries bequeathed by some of its first members. The duty of the chaplain was to perform certain masses at a specified altar for the souls of the founder and his friends, for which he was paid a small annuity. These chaplainaries were commonly given to some of the regents of the college of arts, probably because they were the parent of the sacerdotal order in the university. This patronage, and this purse, so far as appears, were all the property the university ever possessed; nor does it appear that the faculties of theology, canon and civil law, ever had any property. The individuals had each livings through all parts of the nation, abbacies, priories, prebendaries, rectories, and vicarages, but the community had nothing. Its privileges were the sole inducement to bring rich ecclesiastics into a society in which they lived at ease free of all taxes, and subject to no authority but that of their own rector. The college of arts, however, which the public even then had the good sense to see was the most useful part of the whole, and particularly entitled to public favour, as being entrusted with the education of youth, soon came to have some property.

In the year 1469, only eight years after its foundation, James lord Hamilton bequeathed to Mr Duncan Burch, principal regent of the college of arts, and his successors, regents, for the use of the said college, a tenement, with the pertinents lying on the north side of the church and convent of the Dominicans, together with four acres of land in the Dove-hill, with a request that the regents and students every day after dinner and after supper should stand up and pray for the souls of him lord James Hamilton, of Euphemia, his spouse, countess of Douglas, of his ancestors and successors, and of all from whom he had received any benefit for which he had not made a proper return. These four acres of land still form part of the college garden, and from this date the faculty of arts from time to time were enabled to devote somewhat to the repairing, and even to make additions to the buildings of the college, furnishing rooms for the regents and students, with things necessary for the kitchen and

a common table. Nearly thirty years after this, Mr Thomas Arthurlic bequeathed to the university another tenement adjoining to the college. By this time the students consisted generally of the youth of the nation, whose education was of the utmost importance to the public. They were distinguished according to their rank into sons of noblemen, of gentlemen, and those of meaner rank, and, with a degree of consideration which in modern times has been lost sight of, for the expense of their education were taxed accordingly. Such is the early history of the university of Glasgow, founded by bishop Turnbull, probably in imitation of that established by bishop Wardlaw at St Andrews. Neither of these bishops, it may be remarked, bestowed any of their funds upon the colleges they were the means of establishing, and in this respect came far short of bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen, who not only procured the foundation of a college in that city, but contributed largely to its endowment. Bishop Turnbull also obtained from James II. a charter erecting the town and parishes of the bishopric of Glasgow into a regality, and after he had done many acts highly beneficial to the age in which he lived, and worthy to be remembered by posterity, died at Rome, on the 3rd day of September, 1454. His death was universally regretted; and his name must always bear a conspicuous place among the more worthy and useful clergy of the elder establishment in Scotland.

TYTLER, WILLIAM, of Woodhouselee, an eminent antiquarian writer, was born in Edinburgh on the 12th October, 1711. His father, Alexander Tytler, was a writer by profession in the same city. His mother was daughter of Mr William Leslie, merchant in Aberdeen, and grand-daughter of Sir Patrick Leslie of Iden.

The subject of this memoir received his education at the High School and university of his native city, and in both distinguished himself by assiduity in his studies, and by an early and more than ordinary proficiency in classical learning. Having added to his other acquirements a competent knowledge of municipal law, which he studied under Mr Alexander Bryce, professor of that science in the university of Edinburgh, he was, in 1744, admitted into the Society of Writers to his majesty's Signet, in which capacity he practised with increasing success till his death.

Mr Tytler's first appearance as an author took place in 1759, when he published an "Inquiry, historical and critical, into the Evidence against Mary, Queen of Scots, and an Examination of the Histories of Dr Robertson and Mr Hume with respect to that Evidence." In this work Mr Tytler warmly espoused the cause of the unfortunate princess, and brought a force of argument, and an acuteness and precision of reasoning to the discussion of the interesting question of her innocence or guilt, which had never been employed on it before. It was the first appeal in behalf of the Scottish queen which made any impression on the public mind, or which excited any feeling of particular interest in the charges which had been brought against her moral character. A similar attempt with this of Mr Tytler's, had been made some years previously by Walter Goodal, one of the under keepers of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, but it was so indifferently written, and its matter so unskilfully arranged, that it entirely failed to attract any share of the public attention. Mr Tytler, however, found it a useful assistant. He adopted many of Goodal's arguments, but he arranged them anew, and gave them that consistency and force which is so essential to efficiency. The first edition of the Inquiry was published in a single octavo volume; another, considerably enlarged, particularly in the historical part, soon afterwards appeared, and in 1790, a fourth edition was published in two volumes.

The ability displayed by this work acquired for Mr Tytler a very high reputation in the world of letters. It was eagerly read throughout Britain, and was scarcely less popular in France, into the language of which country it was pretty ably translated. The interest which the Inquiry excited was also very great. There were a novelty and chivalry in the attempt eminently calculated to attract attention, and to excite sympathy, and it obtained a large share of both. It was reviewed in many of the different periodicals of the day by some of the most eminent literary men then living; amongst these were Johnson, Smollett, and Douglas, bishop of Salisbury. To the favourable testimony to the merits of the work borne by these competent judges, was added that of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who said it was the most conclusive arrangement of circumstantiate proofs he had ever seen.

Mr Tytler's next literary production was, "The Poetical Remains of James the First, king of Scotland," in one volume, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1783. In this publication Mr Tytler, on very strong grounds, ascribes to that monarch the celebrated poems of "The King's Quair," and "Christ's Kirk on the Green." His reasoning here, as in the defence of Mary, is remarkable for cogency and conciseness, and if it is not always convincing, it is, at least, always plausible. To the Poetical Remains there is added a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of James, remarkable at once for profound antiquarian research, and the lucid arrangement of its facts.

Mr Tytler was an ardent lover of music, especially of the music of his native country. He was himself a good performer, and his theoretical knowledge of the science was fully equal to his practical proficiency. This devotion to music, together with a fine sensibility, which subjected him in a peculiar manner to the influence of the pathetic strains of the national melodies of Scotland, led him to write a highly interesting, though in some respects fanciful, essay on Scottish music, which is appended to Arnot's History of Edinburgh.

The ability which these various publications displayed rapidly increased Mr Tytler's reputation, and procured him the respect and esteem of men of taste and learning, especially of those of his native country, who felt and acknowledged the good service he was doing towards completing their national history by his industry, diligence, and patient research in the peculiar walk of literature he had chosen: a feeling which was yet further increased by his subsequent publications. The next of these, of the character alluded to, was a Dissertation on the marriage of Queen Mary to the earl of Bothwell, published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries in 1791. In this Dissertation, which is distinguished by all the merits displayed by Mr Tytler's other productions, he defends, with much ingenuity, that unhappy step which united Mary to Bothwell; but it is to be feared, that, with all its ingenuity and judicious remark, it can never be otherwise considered than as an attempt, generous and chivalrous indeed, but unavailing, to defend a thing in itself indefensible.

In the year following, viz., 1792, Mr Tytler published, through the same channel with that by which the Dissertation had been given to the world, "Observations on the Vision, a poem," first published in Ramsay's Evergreen. The object of these observations was the generous one, of vindicating Ramsay's title to the merit of being the author of the poem in question, of which some doubts had been entertained.

The "Observations," &c., were soon after followed by a production of singular interest. This was "An Account of the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments of Edinburgh in the last (seventeenth) century, with the plan of a grand Concert of Music performed there on St Cecilia's day, 1695."

Mr Tytler was also the author of a paper in the *Lounger*, No. 16, entitled the "Defects of Modern Female education in teaching the Duties of a Wife;" and with this terminates the catalogue of his published literary achievements, so far as these are known or acknowledged.

To Mr Tytler's talents and acquirements his works will always bear evidence, but there are other merits which he possessed in an eminent degree, which it requires the pen of the biographer to perpetuate. His works sufficiently inform us of his profound and intimate acquaintance with Scottish history and antiquarian lore; of his zealous patriotism, and eminent knowledge of the science of music; but they do not inform us of his generous and benevolent disposition, nor of that delightful and enviable buoyancy of spirit, which enabled him, at the latest period of a life protracted beyond the usual limit of human existence, to join, with the utmost glee, in all the pranks and follies of the young persons, his friends and relatives, who came to visit him, and whom he was always rejoiced to see. Mr Tytler not only attained and enjoyed himself a healthy and happy old age, but had a prescription ready for his friends which would confer the same blessing. This prescription was "short, but cheerful meals, music, and a good conscience."

Mr Tytler was one of the original members of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, and continued his connexion with that body for nearly sixty years. He usually spent a portion of the summer at his beautiful country seat of Woodhouselee. Here in a private and shady walk he had erected an urn with the following inscription:—

Hunc lucum
Caris mortuis amicis,
Sacrum dicat
W. T.

Some time before his death, Mr Tytler was seized with a slight paralytic affection, but it did not much debilitate his frame, nor did it in the least degree affect his faculties, all of which remained unimpaired till the hour of his death, an event which happened on the 12th of September, 1792, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Mr Tytler was married in 1745, to Miss Anne Craig, daughter of James Craig, Esq. of Costerton, in the county of Mid Lothian, one of the writers to his majesty's Signet, by whom he left two sons, Alexander Fraser Tytler, afterwards lord Woodhouselee, and major Patrick Tytler, fort-major of the castle of Stirling. He left also one daughter, Miss Christina Tytler. It only remains to be added to this sketch, and the addition though short, comprises one of the strongest eulogiums which was ever bestowed on human virtue: it is recorded of Mr Tytler, that no one ever spoke ill of him.

TYTLER, ALEXANDER FRASER, usually styled Lord Woodhouselee, was born in Edinburgh, on the 15th of October, 1747. He was the eldest son of William Tytler, esquire of Woodhouselee, by his wife, Anne Craig. The earlier rudiments of education he received from his father at home; but in the eighth year of his age, he was sent to the High School, then under the direction of Mr Mathison. At this seminary, young Tytler remained for five years, distinguishing himself at once by the lively frankness of his manners, and by the industry and ability with which he applied himself to, and pursued his studies. The latter procured him the highest honours of the academy; and, finally, in the last year of his course, obtained for him the dignity of dux of the rector's class.

On the completion of his curriculum at the High School his father sent him

to an academy at Kensington, for the still further improvement of his classical attainments. This academy was then under the care of Mr Elphinston, a man of great learning and singular worth, who speedily formed a strong attachment to his pupil, arising from the pleasing urbanity of his manners, and the zeal and devotion with which he applied himself to the acquisition of classical learning. When Mr Tytler set out for Kensington, which was in 1763, in the sixteenth year of his age, he went with the determination of returning an accomplished scholar; and steadily acting up to this determination, he attained the end to which it was directed. At Kensington, he soon distinguished himself by his application and proficiency, particularly in Latin poetry, to which he now became greatly attached, and in which he arrived at great excellence. His master was especially delighted with his efforts in this way, and took every opportunity, not only of praising them himself, but of exhibiting them to all with whom he came in contact who were capable of appreciating their merits. To his other pursuits, while at Kensington, Mr Tytler added drawing, which soon became a favourite amusement with him, and continued so throughout the whole of his after life. He also began, by himself, to study Italian, and by earnest and increasing assiduity, quickly acquired a sufficiently competent knowledge of that language, to enable him to read it fluently, and to enjoy the beauties of the authors who wrote in it. The diversity of Mr Tytler's pursuits extended yet further. He acquired, while at Kensington, a taste for natural history, in the study of which he was greatly assisted by Dr Russel, an intimate friend of his father, who then lived in his neighbourhood.

In 1765, Mr Tytler returned to Edinburgh, after an absence of two years, which he always reckoned amongst the happiest and best spent of his life. On his return to his native city, his studies naturally assumed a more direct relation to the profession for which he was destined,—the law. With this object chiefly in view, he entered the university, where he began the study of civil law, under Dr Dick; and afterwards that of municipal law, under Mr Wallace. He also studied logic, under Dr Stevenson; rhetoric and belles lettres, under Dr Blair; and moral science, under Dr Fergusson. Mr Tytler, however, did not, by any means, devote his attention exclusively to these preparatory professional studies. He reserved a portion for those that belong to general knowledge. From these he selected natural philosophy and chemistry, and attended a course of each.

It will be seen, from the learned and eminent names enumerated above, that Mr Tytler was singularly fortunate in his teachers; and it will be seen, from those that follow, that he was no less fortunate, at this period of his life, in his acquaintance. Amongst these he had the happiness to reckon Henry Mackenzie, lord Abercromby, lord Craig, Mr Playfair, Dr Gregory, and Dugald Stewart. During the summer recesses of the university, Mr Tytler was in the habit of retiring to his father's residence at Woodhouselee. The time spent here, however, was not spent in idleness. In the quiet seclusion of this delightful country residence, he resumed, and followed out with exemplary assiduity, the literary pursuits to which he was so devoted. He read extensively in the Roman classics, and in French and Italian literature. He studied deeply, besides, the ancient writers of England; and thus laid in a stock of knowledge, and acquired a delicacy of taste, which few have ever attained. Nor in this devotion to severer study, did he neglect those lighter accomplishments, which so elegantly relieve the exhaustion and fatigues of mental application. He indulged his taste for drawing and music, and always joined in the little family concerts, in which his amiable and accomplished father took singular delight.

In 1770, Mr Tytler was called to the bar; and in the spring of the succeed-

ing year, he paid a visit to Paris, in company with Mr Kerr of Blackshiels. Shortly after this, lord Kames, with whom he had the good fortune to become acquainted in the year 1767, and who had perceived and appreciated his talents, having seen from time to time some of his little literary efforts, recommended to him to write something in the way of his profession. This recommendation, which had for its object at once the promotion of his interests, and the acquisition of literary fame, his lordship followed up, by proposing that Mr Tytler should write a supplementary volume to his Dictionary of Decisions. Inspired with confidence, and flattered by the opinion of his abilities and competency for the work, which this suggestion implied on the part of lord Kames, Mr Tytler immediately commenced the laborious undertaking, and in five years of almost unremitting toil, completed it. The work, which was executed in such a manner as to call forth not only the unqualified approbation of the eminent person who had first proposed it, but of all who were competent to judge of its merits, was published in folio, in 1778. Two years after this, in 1780, Mr Tytler was appointed conjunct professor of universal history in the college of Edinburgh with Mr Pringle; and in 1786, he became sole professor. From this period, till the year 1800, he devoted himself exclusively to the duties of his office; but in these his services were singularly efficient, surpassing far in importance, and in the benefits which they conferred on the student, what any of his predecessors had ever performed. His course of lectures was so remarkably comprehensive, that, although they were chiefly intended, in accordance with the object for which the class was instituted, for the benefit of those who were intended for the law, he yet numbered amongst his students many who were not destined for that profession. The favourable impression made by these performances, and the popularity which they acquired for Mr Tytler, induced him, in 1782, to publish, what he modestly entitled "Outlines" of his course of lectures. These were so well received, that their ingenious author felt himself called upon some time afterwards to republish them in a more extended form. This he accordingly did, in two volumes, under the title of "Elements of General History." The Elements were received with an increase of public favour, proportioned to the additional value which had been imparted to the work by its extension. It became a text book in some of the universities of Britain; and was held in equal estimation, and similarly employed, in the universities of America. The work has since passed through many editions. The reputation of a man of letters, and of extensive and varied acquirements, which Mr Tytler now deservedly enjoyed, subjected him to numerous demands for literary assistance and advice. Amongst these, was a request from Dr Gregory, then (1788) engaged in publishing the works of his father, Dr John Gregory, to prefix to these works an account of the life and writings of the latter. With this request, Mr Tytler readily complied; and he eventually discharged the trust thus confided to him, with great fidelity and discrimination, and with the tenderest and most affectionate regard for the memory which he was perpetuating.

Mr Tytler wrote pretty largely, also, for the well known periodicals, the Mirror and the Lounger. To the former of these he contributed, Nos. 17, 37, 59, and 79; and to the latter, Nos. 7, 9, 24, 44, 67, 70, and 79. The first of these were written with the avowed intention of giving a higher and sprightlier character to the work to which they were furnished; qualities in which he thought it deficient, although he greatly admired the talent and genius displayed in its graver papers; but he justly conceived, that a judicious admixture of a little humour, occasionally, would not be against its popularity. The circumstances in which his contributions to the Lounger were composed, afford a very remarkable instance of activity of mind and habits, of facility of

expression, and felicity of imagination. They were almost all written at inns, where he happened to be detained for any length of time, in his occasional journeys from one place to another. Few men would have thought of devoting such hours to any useful purpose; but the papers of the Lounger, above enumerated, show how much may be made of them by genius and diligence.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in 1783, Mr Tytler became one of its constituent members; and was soon afterwards unanimously elected one of the secretaries of the literary class, in which capacity he drew up an account of the Origin and History of the Society, which was prefixed to the first volume of its Transactions. In 1788, Mr Tytler contributed to the Transactions, a biographical sketch of Robert Dundas of Arniston, lord president of the Court of Session; and in the year following, read a paper to the society on the vitrified forts in the Highlands of Scotland. The principal scope of this paper, which discovers great antiquarian knowledge and research, is to show, that, in all probability, this remarkable characteristic of the ancient Highland forts—their vitrification—was imparted to them, not during their erection, as was generally supposed, but at their destruction, which its author reasonably presumes, would be, in most, if not all cases, effected by fire. With the exception of some trifling differences of opinion in one or two points of minor importance, Mr Tytler's essay met with the warm and unanimous approbation of the most eminent antiquarians of the day.

The next publication of this versatile and ingenious writer, was, an "Essay on the Principles of Translation," published, anonymously, in 1790. By one of those singular coincidences, which are not of unfrequent occurrence in the literary world, it happened that Dr Campbell, principal of the Marischal college, Aberdeen, had, but a short while before, published a work, entitled "Translations of the Gospel; to which was prefixed a Preliminary Dissertation on the Principles of Taste." Between many of the sentiments expressed in this dissertation, and those promulgated in Mr Tytler's essay, there was a resemblance so strong and close, that Dr Campbell, on perusing the latter, immediately conceived that the anonymous author had pillaged his dissertation; and instantly wrote to Mr Creech of Edinburgh, his publisher, intimating his suspicions. Mr Tytler, however, now came forward, acknowledged himself to be the author of the suspected essay, and, in a correspondence which he opened with Dr Campbell, not only convinced him that the similarity of sentiment which appeared in their respective publications, was the result of mere accident, but succeeded in obtaining the esteem and warmest friendship of his learned correspondent.

Mr Tytler's essay attained a rapid and extraordinary celebrity. Complimentary letters flowed in upon its author from many of the most eminent men in England; and the book itself speedily came to be considered a standard work in English criticism. Mr Tytler had now attained nearly the highest pinnacle of literary repute. His name was widely known, and was in every case associated with esteem for his worth, and admiration of his talents. It is no matter for wonder then, that such a man should have attracted the notice of those in power, nor that they should have thought it would reflect credit on themselves, to promote his interests.

In 1790, Mr Tytler, through the influence of lord Melville, was appointed to the high dignity of judge-advocate of Scotland. The duties of this important office had always been, previously to Mr Tytler's nomination, discharged by deputy; but neither the activity of his body and mind, nor the strong sense of the duty he owed to the public, would permit him to have recourse to such a subterfuge. He resolved to discharge the duties now imposed upon him in

person, and continued to do so, attending himself on every trial, so long as he held the appointment. He also drew up, while acting as judge-advocate, a treatise on Martial Law, which has been found of great utility. Of the zeal with which Mr Tytler discharged the duties of his office, and of the anxiety and impartiality with which he watched over and directed the course of justice, a remarkable instance is afforded in the case of a court-martial, which was held at Ayr. Mr Tytler thought the sentence of that court unjust; and under this impression, which was well founded, immediately represented the matter to Sir Charles Morgan, judge-advocate general of England, and prayed for a reversion of the sentence. Sir Charles cordially concurred in opinion with Mr Tytler regarding the decision of the court-martial, and immediately procured the desired reversion. In the fulness of his feelings, the feelings of a generous and upright mind, Mr Tytler recorded his satisfaction with the event, on the back of the letter which announced it.

In the year 1792, Mr Tytler lost his father, and by his death succeeded to the estate of Woodhouselee, and shortly after Mrs Tytler succeeded in a similar manner to the estate of Balmain in Inverness-shire. On taking possession of Woodhouselee, Mr Tytler designed, and erected a little monument to the memory of his father, on which was an appropriate Latin inscription, in a part of the grounds which his parents had delighted to frequent.

This tribute of filial affection paid, Mr Tytler, now in possession of affluence, and every other blessing on which human felicity depends, began to realize certain projects for the improvement and embellishment of his estate, which he had long fondly entertained, and thinking with Pope that "to enjoy, is to obey," he prepared to make the proper use of the wealth which had been apportioned to him. This was in opening up sources of rational and innocent enjoyment for himself, and in promoting the happiness and comfort of those around him. From this period he resided constantly at Woodhouselee, the mansion-house of which he enlarged in order that he might enlarge the bounds of his hospitality. The felicity, however, which he now enjoyed, and for which, perhaps, no man was ever more sincerely or piously grateful, was destined soon to meet with a serious interruption. In three years after his accession to his paternal estate, viz. in 1795, Mr Tytler was seized with a dangerous and long protracted fever, accompanied by delirium. The skill and assiduity of his friend Dr Gregory, averted any fatal consequences from the fever, but during the paroxysms of the disease he had burst a blood vessel, an accident which rendered his entire recovery at first doubtful, and afterwards exceedingly tardy. During the hours of convalescence which succeeded his illness on this occasion, Mr Tytler employed himself in improving, and adapting to the advanced state of knowledge, Derham's *Physico-Theology*, a work which he had always held in high estimation. To this new edition of Derham's work, which he published in 1799, he prefixed a "Dissertation on Final Causes." In the same year Mr Tytler wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Ireland profiting by Example, or the Question considered, Whether Scotland has gained or lost by the Union." He was induced to this undertaking by the circumstance of the question having been then furiously agitated, whether any benefit had arisen, or was likely to arise from the Union with Ireland. Of Mr Tytler's pamphlet the interest was so great that no less than 3000 copies were sold on the day of publication.

The well earned reputation of Mr Tytler still kept him in the public eye, and in the way of preferment. In 1801, a vacancy having occurred in the bench of the court of Session by the death of lord Stonefield, the subject of this memoir was appointed, through the influence of lord Melville, to succeed him,

and took his seat, on the 2nd of February, 1802, as lord Woodhouselee. His lordship now devoted himself to the duties of his office with the same zeal and assiduity which had distinguished his proceedings as judge-advocate. While the courts were sitting, he resided in town, and appropriated every hour to the business allotted to him; but during the summer recess, he retired to his country-seat, and there devoted himself with similar assiduity to literary pursuits. At this period his lordship contemplated several literary works; but gratitude, and a warm and affectionate regard for the memory of his early patron induced him to abandon them all, in order to write the *Life of Lord Kames*. This work, which occupied him, interveniently, for four years, was published in 2 volumes, quarto, in 1807, with the title of "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Henry Home, lord Kames*." Besides a luminous account of its proper subject, and of all his writings, it contains a vast fund of literary anecdote, and many notices of eminent persons, of whom there was hardly any other commemoration.

On the elevation of lord justice clerk Hope to the president's chair in 1811, lord Woodhouselee was appointed to the Justiciary bench, and with this appointment terminated his professional advancement. His lordship still continued to devote his leisure hours to literary pursuits, but these were now exclusively confined to the revision of his *Lectures upon History*. In this task, however, he laboured with unwearied assiduity, adding to them the fresh matter with which subsequent study and experience had supplied him, and improving them where an increased refinement in taste showed him they were defective.

In 1812, lord Woodhouselee succeeded to some property bequeathed him by his friend and relation, Sir James Craig, governor of Canada. On this occasion a journey to London was necessary, and his lordship accordingly proceeded thither. Amongst the other duties which devolved upon him there, as nearest relative of the deceased knight, was that of returning to the sovereign the insignia of the order of the Bath with which Sir James had been invested. In the discharge of this duty his lordship had an interview with the Prince Regent, who received him with marked cordiality, and, from the conversation which afterwards followed, became so favourably impressed regarding him, that he caused an intimation to be conveyed to him soon after, that the dignity of baronet would be conferred upon him if he chose it. This honour, however, his lordship modestly declined.

On his return from London, his lordship, who was now in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was attacked with his old complaint, and so seriously, that he was advised, and prevailed upon to remove from Woodhouselee to Edinburgh for the benefit of the medical skill which the city afforded. No human aid, however, could now avail him. His complaint daily gained ground in despite of every effort to arrest its progress. Feeling that he had not long to live, although perhaps, not aware that the period was to be so brief, he desired his coachman to drive him out on the road in the direction of Woodhouselee, the scene of the greater portion of the happiness which he had enjoyed through life, that he might obtain a last sight of his beloved retreat.

On coming within view of the well-known grounds his eyes beamed with a momentary feeling of delight. He returned home, ascended the stairs which led to his study with unwonted vigour, gained the apartment, sank on the floor, and expired without a groan.

Lord Woodhouselee died on the 5th January, 1813, in the 66th year of his age; leaving a name which will not soon be forgotten, and a reputation for taste, talent, and personal worth, which will not often be surpassed.

TYTLER, JAMES, a laborious miscellaneous writer, was the son of the minister of Fern, in the county of Forfar, where he was born about the middle of the last century. After receiving a good education, he was apprenticed to a Mr Ogilvie, a surgeon in Forfar, for whom he probably prepared the drugs which almost invariably form a part of the business of such provincial practitioners. He afterwards commenced a regular medical education at the university of Edinburgh, for which the necessary finances were partly supplied by two voyages which he made in the capacity of surgeon on board a Greenland whaler. From his earliest years, and during the whole course of his professional studies, he read with avidity every book that fell in his way; and, having a retentive memory, he thus acquired an immense fund of knowledge, more particularly, it is said, in the department of history. If reared in easy circumstances, and with a proper supervision over his moral nature, it is probable that Tytler would have turned his singular aptitude for learning, and his prompt and lively turn of mind, to some account, either in the higher walks of literature, or in some professional pursuit. He appears, however, to have never known anything but the most abject poverty, and to have never been inspired with a taste for anything superior: talent and information were in him unaccompanied by any development of the higher sentiments: and he contentedly settled at an early period of life into an humble matrimonial alliance, which obliged him to dissipate, upon paltry objects, the abilities that ought to have been concentrated upon some considerable effort. Whether from the pressing nature of the responsibilities thus entailed upon him, or from a natural want of the power of application, Tytler was never able to fix himself steadily in any kind of employment. He first attempted to obtain practice as a surgeon in Edinburgh; but finding the profits of that business inadequate to the support of his family, and being destitute of that capital which might have enabled him to overcome the first difficulties, he was soon induced to remove to Leith, in order to open a shop for the sale of chemical preparations. For this department he was certainly qualified, so far as a skill in chemistry, extraordinary in that age, could be supposed to qualify him. But either from the want of a proper market for his commodities, or because, as formerly, he could not afford to wait till time should establish one, he failed in this line also. In the mean time, some literary efforts of Tytler had introduced him to the notice of the booksellers of Edinburgh, and he was employed by Messrs Bell and Macfarquhar, as a contributor to the second edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1776. As noticed in the life of Mr William Smellie, the first edition of the *Encyclopædia* was chiefly compiled by that gentleman, and was comprised in three volumes quarto. Mr Smellie having declined both a commercial and literary share in the second impression, on account of its including a biographical department, the proprietors appear to have engaged the pen of Mr Tytler as the next most eligible person that was at their command as a compiler; and accordingly, a large proportion of that additional matter, by which the work was expanded from three to ten volumes, was the production of the subject of this memoir. The payment for this labour is said to have been very small, insomuch that the poor author could not support his family in a style superior to that of a common labourer. At one time, during the progress of the work, he lived in the village of Duddingston, in the house of a washerwoman, whose tub, inverted, formed the only desk he could command; and the editor of this dictionary has heard one of his children relate, that she was frequently despatched to town with a small parcel of copy, upon the proceeds of which depended the next meal of the family. It is curious to reflect that the proceeds of the work which included so much of

this poor man's labours, were, in the next ensuing edition, no less than forty-two thousand pounds. It is proper, however, to mention that the poverty of Tytler was chiefly attributable to his own imprudence and intemperate habits. A highly characteristic anecdote, related by an anonymous biographer,¹ will make this sufficiently clear. "As a proof," says this writer, "of the extraordinary stock of general knowledge which Mr Tytler possessed, and with what ease he could write on any subject almost extempore, a gentleman in the city of Edinburgh once told me that he had occasion to apply to this extraordinary man for as much matter as would form a junction between a certain history and its continuation to a later period. He found him lodged in one of those elevated apartments called *garrets*, and was informed by the old woman with whom he resided, that he could not see him, as he had gone to bed rather the worse of liquor. Determined, however, not to depart without his errand, he was shown into Mr Tytler's apartment by the light of a lamp, where he found him in the situation described by the landlady. The gentleman having acquainted him with the nature of the business which brought him at so late an hour, Mr Tytler called for pen and ink, and in a short time produced about a page and a half of letter-press, which answered the end as completely as if it had been the result of the most mature deliberation, previous notice, and a mind undisturbed by any liquid capable of deranging its ideas." A man who has so little sense of natural dignity as to besot his senses by liquor, and who can so readily make his intellect subservient to the purposes of all who may choose to employ its powers, can hardly expect to be otherwise than poor; while his very poverty tends, by inducing dependence, to prevent him from gaining the proper reward for his labours. Tytler, moreover, had that contentment with poverty, if not pride in it, which is so apt to make it permanent. "It is said," proceeds his biographer, after relating the above anecdote, "that Mr Tytler was perfectly regardless about poverty, so far as to feel no desire to conceal it from the world. A certain gentleman who had occasion to wait upon him on some particular business, found him eating a cold potatoe, which he continued to devour with as much composure, as if it had been the most sumptuous repast upon earth." It is mentioned elsewhere by the same writer that poor Tytler never thought of any but present necessities, and was as happy in the possession of a few shillings as a miser could be with all the treasures of India.

Besides his labours in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to the third edition of which he is said to have also contributed, (particularly the article "Electricity," which was allowed to be excellent,) he was employed in the compilation of many miscellaneous books of an useful character, and also in abridgments. At one time, while confined within the precincts of the sanctuary of Holyrood, he had a press of his own, from which he threw off various productions, generally without the intermediate use of manuscript. In a small mean room, amidst the squalling and squalor of a number of children, this singular genius stood at a printer's case, composing pages of types, either altogether from his own ideas, or perhaps with a volume before him, the language of which he was condensing by a mental process little less difficult. He is said to have, in this manner, fairly commenced an abridgment of that colossal work, the *Universal History*: it was only carried, however, through a single volume. To increase the surprise which all must feel regarding these circumstances, it may be mentioned, that his press was one of his own manufacture, described by his biographer, as being "wrought in the direction of a smith's bellows;" and probably, therefore, not unlike that subsequently brought into use by the ingenious John Ruth-

¹ See "a Biographical Sketch of the Life of James Tytler;" Edinburgh, printed by and for Denovan, Lawnmarket, 1805.

ven. This machine, however, is allowed to have been "but an indifferent one;" and thus it was with almost everything in which Tytler was concerned. Everything was wonderful, considering the circumstances under which it was produced; but yet nothing was in itself very good.

Tytler was at one period concerned in a manufactory of magnesia, which, however, did no good as long as he was connected with it; though it is said to have realized much money afterwards to his partner and successors. Such was constantly his fate: his ingenuity and information, useless to himself, were perpetually taken advantage of by meaner, but more steady minds. On the commencement of the balloon mania, after the experiments of Montgolfier, Tytler would try his hand also at an aeronautic voyage. Accordingly, having constructed a huge dingy bag, and filled it with the best hydrogen he could procure, he collected the inhabitants of Edinburgh to the spot, and prepared to make his ascent. The experiment took place in a garden within the Sanctuary; and the wonder is, that he did not fear being carried beyond it, as in that event, he would have been liable to the gripe of his creditors. There was no real danger, however; the balloon only moved so high, and so far, as to carry him over the garden wall, and deposit him softly on an adjoining dunghill. The crowd departed, laughing at the disappointed aeronaut, who ever after went by the name, appropriate on more accounts than one, of "Balloon Tytler."

During his residence in the Sanctuary, Tytler commenced a small periodical work, entitled the "Weekly Review," which was soon discontinued. Afterwards, in 1780, a similar work was undertaken by a printer, named Mennons, and Tytler was employed in the capacity of chief contributor. This was a cheap miscellany, in octavo; and the present writer, who once possessed a volume of it, is inclined, on recollection, to say, that it displayed considerable talent. Tytler also tried poetry, and was the author of at least one popular song—"I canna come ilka day to woo;" if not also of another, styled "The bonnie brucket Lassie." Burns, in his notes on Scottish Song, alludes with surprise to the fact, that such clever ballads should have been the composition of a poor devil, with a sky-light hat, and hardly a shoe to his feet. One of the principal works compiled by Tytler, was the "Edinburgh Geographical Grammar," published by Mr Kincaid, as an improvement upon the work bearing the name of Guthrie, which had gone through numerous editions, without any revisal to keep it abreast of the march of information. In the year 1792, Mr Tytler was conducting a periodical work, entitled "The Historical Register, or Edinburgh Monthly Intelligencer," and putting the last hand to a "System of Surgery," in three volumes, which he had undertaken for a surgeon in Edinburgh, who wished to have the nominal credit of such a work, when he was suddenly obliged to leave his native country. Having espoused the cause of parliamentary reform, and joined the society entitled "Friends of the People," he published, at the close of the year 1792, a political placard, which, in that excited time, was deemed by the authorities to be of a seditious tendency. Learning that the emissaries of the law had been sent forth in quest of him, he sought refuge in the house of a friend in a solitary situation on the northern skirts of Salisbury Crags; whence, after a short concealment, he withdrew to Ireland; and thence, after finishing his "System of Surgery," to the United States of America. Having been cited before the High Court of Justiciary, and failed to appear, he was outlawed by that tribunal, January 7, 1793. His family, which he necessarily left behind him, was for some time in great distress; nor did they ever rejoin him in the land of his adoption, poverty on both sides, perhaps, refusing the necessary expenses. In America, Tytler resumed

the course of life which had been interrupted by political persecution. He was conducting a newspaper at Salem, when he died of a severe cold, in the latter part of the year 1803.

This extraordinary genius was, perhaps, a fair specimen of a class of literary men who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and were characterized by many of the general peculiarities of that bad era, in a form only exaggerated perhaps by their abilities. They were generally open scoffers at what their fellow creatures held sacred; decency in private life, they esteemed a mean and unworthy virtue; to desire a fair share of worldly advantages, was, with them, the mark of an ignoble nature. They professed boundless benevolence, and a devotion to the spirit of sociality, and thought that talent not only excused all kinds of frailties, but was only to be effectually proved by such. The persons "content to dwell in decencies for ever," were the chief objects of their aversion; while, if a man would only neglect his affairs, and keep himself and his family in a sufficient degree of poverty, they would applaud him as a paragon of self-denial. Fortunately, this class of infatuated beings is now nearly extinct; but their delusion had not been exploded, till it had been the cause of much intellectual ruin, and the vitiation of a large share of our literature.

U

URQUHART, (SIR) THOMAS, of Cromarty, as he designates himself, was a writer of some note, in the seventeenth century, but is much more remarkable for the eccentricity, than either the depth or extent, of his genius. Of this singular person, there is scarcely anything more known, than that he was knighted, though for what service is not recorded, by Charles I. at Whitehall; and that having, at an after period, viz., in 1651, accompanied his successor, Charles II., from Scotland, in his invasion of England, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester. After his capture, he was detained in London on his parole; and this interval he employed in writing some of the extraordinary works which have perpetuated his name.

He appears to have travelled, at some period of his life, through the greater part of Europe, to have been well skilled in the modern languages of the continent, and to have been tolerably accomplished in the fashionable arts of the times in which he lived.

Meagre and few as these particulars are, they yet comprehend all that is left us regarding the history of a person, who, to judge by the expressions which he employs, when speaking of himself in his writings, expected to fill no inconsiderable space in the eyes of posterity. Amongst Sir Thomas's works, is a translation of Rabelais, remarkably well executed; but, with this performance, begins and ends all possibility of conscientiously complimenting him on his literary attainments. All the rest of his productions, though in each occasional scintillations of genius may be discovered, are mere rhapsodies, incoherent, unintelligible, and extravagantly absurd. At the head of this curious list, appears "The Discovery of a most exquisite Jewel, more precious than diamonds incased in gold, the like whereof was never seen in any age; found in the kennel of Worcester streets, the day after the fight, and six before the autumnal equinox, &c., &c., anno 1651." This extraordinary work was written, as its author avows, for the extraordinary purpose of helping him, by the display of talent which he conceived it would exhibit, to the recovery of his forfeited

estates in Cromarty. As may be readily conceived, however, it had no such effect; and it will be at once understood why it should not, when it is mentioned that Cromwell was then protector of England. The "Jewel," its author boasts, was written in fourteen days; there being a struggle between him and the printer, which should get on fastest: a contest which sometimes bore so hard upon him, that he was, as he tells us, obliged to tear off fragments from the sheet he was writing, in order to keep the press going. The "Jewel" contains, amongst other piquant matters, the adventures of the Admirable Crichton, and a pedigree of the author's family, in which he traces the male line, with great precision and accuracy, from Adam to himself; and on the female side, from Eve to his mother; regulating, as he goes along, the great events in the history of the world, by the births and deaths of the Urquharts; to which important events, he, with a proper sense of the respectability and dignity of his progenitors, makes them quite subordinate.

This multifarious and elaborate work, although the most important of the learned knight's productions, was not the first in point of time. In 1645, he published, in London, a treatise on Trigonometry, dedicated, in very flowery language, to "the right honourable, and most noble lady, my dear and loving mother, the lady dowager of Cromartie." This work, though disfigured by all the faults of manner and style peculiar to its author, yet discovers a knowledge of mathematics, which, when associated with his other attainments, leaves no doubt of his having been a man of very superior natural endowments.

W

WALLACE, WILLIAM, the celebrated asserter of the national independence, was born probably about the middle of the reign of Alexander III., or the year 1270. Part of the circumstances which called forth this hero from obscurity are already detailed under the life of Baliol; the remainder must here be briefly noticed.

After the deposition of that unfortunate sovereign in 1296, king Edward I. overran Scotland with his troops, and united it, as he thought, for ever, to his native dominions. Many of the nobility who had taken part in the resistance of king John, fell into his hands, and were sent prisoners to England, whither Baliol himself, along with his eldest son, had also been sent. He destroyed or took away all the public records; and endeavoured to obliterate every monument of the former independence of Scotland. He displaced those who had held important offices under Baliol, and bestowed them on Englishmen. Warenne, earl of Surrey, was appointed governor, Hugh de Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciary of Scotland; and having thus settled all things in a state of seeming tranquillity, he departed with the conviction that he had made a final conquest of the country.

Scotland was now fated to experience the most flagrant oppression and tyranny. The unlimited exactions of Cressingham, the treasurer, a voluptuous and selfish ecclesiastic, and the rigour of Ormesby, the justiciary, in taking the oath of fealty, soon rendered them odious to the nobles; while the rapacity and barbarism of the soldiers laid the wretched inhabitants open to

every species of wrong and insult.¹ Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Edward were deprived of their estates, and in many cases of their lives. Whatever was valuable in the kingdom was seized upon by its oppressors; even the cause of female virtue was not held sacred under their unhal- lowed domination; and in short, the whole country was laid under a military despotism of the most unqualified and irresponsible kind. It was at this dark hour of Scotland's history, when the cry of an oppressed people ascended to heaven, and the liberty for which they had so long struggled seemed to have departed for ever from them, that SIR WILLIAM WALLACE arose, to avenge the wrongs, and restore the rights of his country.

Sir William Wallace was descended from an ancient Anglo-Norman family in the west of Scotland. His father was knight of Elderslie and Auchinbothie, in Renfrewshire, and his mother daughter of Sir Raynald Crawford, sheriff of Ayr. Wynton, in his Chronicle, speaking of him, says,

Hys Fadyere was a manly knyght,
Hys Modyere was a lady bricht,
Begothen and born in mariage;
Hys eldare brodyere the herytage
Had and enjoyed in his days.

According to some writers, his father and brother were both slain by the English at Lochmaben; but from the above lines it would seem, that the elder

¹ BARBOUR, in his BRUCE, has given the following lively picture of the deplorable state to which the country was reduced:—

Fra Weik anent Orkenay,
To Mullyr snwk in Gallaway;
And stufft all with Ingliss men.
Schyrreffys and bailyheys maid he then;
And alkyn othir officeris,
That for to govern land afferis,
He maid off Ingllis nation;
That worthy than sa ryeh fellone,
And sa wykkyt and cowatonss,
And swa hawtane and dispitouss,
That Scottis men mycht do na thing
That euir mycht pleyss to thar liking.
Thar wyffis wald thai oft forly,
And thar dochtrys disputusly:
And gyf ony of thaim thair at war
Thai watyt hym wele with gret scaith;
For thai suld fynd sone enchesone
To put hym to destructione.
And gyf that ony man thaim by
Had ony thing that wes worthy,
As horsse, or hund, or othir thing,
That war plesand to thar liking;
With ryght or wrang it have wald thai
And gyf ony wald thaim withsay;
Thai suld swa do, that thai suld tyno
Othir land or lyff, or leyff in pyne.
For thai dempt thaim eftir thair will.
Takand na kep to ryght na skill.
A! quhat thai dempt thaim felonly
For gud knychtis that war worthy.
For litill enchesoune, or than nare,
Thai hangyt be the nekbane.
Als that folk, that euir wes fre,
And in fredome wount for to be,
Throw thar gret myschance, and foly,
War tretyt than sa wykkytly,
That thair fays thair jugis war:
Quhat wrechitnes may man have mar?

brother survived his father, and succeeded to the heritage. Sir William, who, as already mentioned, seems to have been born about the middle of the reign of Alexander III., received the rudiments of his education at Dunipace in Sirlingshire, under the guardianship of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic there. This worthy man is said to have stored his nephew's mind with the choicest maxims from the ancients, and in particular to have imprinted upon his memory the following Leonine verses, which Wallace often repeated in after years :

Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivo, fili.

Thus translated by Monipennie :

My sonne (I say) Freedom is best,
Then never yield to thrall's arrest.

From Dunipace Wallace was removed to a public seminary at Dundee, where he contracted a friendship with John Blair, a Benedictine monk, who afterwards became his chaplain. Blair, being an eye-witness to most of his actions, composed a history of them in Latin ; but the work has not, unfortunately, come down to us, though a liberal use has evidently been made of it in the vernacular metrical work of Blind Harry.¹

It would appear that Wallace first displayed his intrepid temper in a quarrel at Dundee with a young English nobleman of the name of Selby, whom, provoked by some wanton indignity, he stabbed with his dagger, and slew on the spot. The consequence of this was, that he was obliged to seek for safety among the wilds and fastnesses of his country,² where by degrees he collected a little band, whom he inspired with his own patriotic sentiments.

Although deserted by their nobility, a spirit of determined hostility to the English government was strongly manifested by the great body of the people. Throughout the country, numerous bands of armed peasants collected, and harassed in every possible way the English soldiers. A master spirit was only wanting to guide them to the restoration of their country's independence—and such they found in Sir William Wallace. He had every personal and mental qualification to constitute him the leader of his countrymen at this period of oppression. In the fragment ascribed to Blair, which is preserved, he is described as of a tall and gigantic stature, a serene countenance, a pleasant aspect, large and broad-shouldered, but of no unwieldy bulk ; liberal in his gifts, just in his judgments, eloquent in discourse, compassionate to those in

¹ The following lines occur near the conclusion of Blind Harry's performance :

Of Wallace' Life, who hath a better skeel,
May show forth more with wit and eloquence
For I to this have done my diligence,
After the prose, given from the Latin book,
Which Master Blair in his time undertook,
In fair Latin compiled to an end, &c.

² " There is a respectable man in Longforan, Perthshire, who has in his possession a stone, called *Wallace's stone*. It was what was formerly called in this country a *bear stone*, hollow like a large mortar, and was made use of to unhusk the bear or barley, as a preparative for the pot, with a large wooden mell, long before barley-mills were known. Its station was on one side of the door, and covered with a flat stone for a seat when not otherwise employed. Upon this stone Wallace sat on his way from Dundee, when he fled after killing Selby, the governor's son, and was fed with bread and milk by the goodwife of the house, from whom the man who now lives there, and is the proprietor of the stone, is lineally descended ; and here his forbears (ancestors) have lived ever since, in nearly the same station and circumstances for about 500 years."—*Statistical Account of Scotland*, xix. 561.

distress, a strong protector and deliverer of the oppressed and poor, and a great enemy to liars and cheats. Fordun and Buchanan also characterize him as superior to the rest of mankind in bodily stature, strength, and activity; in bearing cold and heat, thirst and hunger, watching and fatigue; valiant and prudent, magnanimous and disinterested, undaunted in adversity, modest in prosperity, and animated by the most ardent and unextinguishable love of his country. With these qualifications, and with a band of followers who confided in him, and who were stimulated by the same wish of rescuing their country from the tyranny under which it groaned, he soon became a terror to the English, and performed many daring feats of valour. His early and desultory enterprises against the enemy were almost all successful; and the result was, that numbers who had looked with indignation at the usurpation of the crown by Edward, and who only waited for an opportunity of asserting the independence of their country, flocked to his standard, until he found himself at the head of a great body of men, all fired with the same patriotic spirit.

As Wallace's party grew stronger, several of the Scottish nobles joined him. Among these were, the steward of Scotland, and Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell; Sir John the Grahame, who became Wallace's bosom friend and confidant; William Douglas, lord of Douglasdale, designated the Hardy; Sir Robert Boyd; Alexander de Lindsay; Sir Richard Lundin; and Wisheart, bishop of Glasgow. These either acted together, or engaged in separate expeditions, as circumstances allowed. Ormesby, the English justiciary, was about this time holding his court at Scone. Wallace attacked him there, killed some of his followers, and took many prisoners; but the justiciary had the good fortune to escape. While Wallace was engaged in this expedition, or some other equally daring, lord Douglas recovered the castles of Durisdeer and Sanquhar from the English.³

About the same period, a memorable adventure in the history of Wallace,—the burning of the barns of Ayr,—is said to have taken place. According to prevalent tradition, the English governor of Ayr invited to a friendly conference many of the Scottish gentry, in some large buildings, called the Barns of Ayr, where, by a treacherous and premeditated stratagem, they were strangled to death. Among those slain in this base manner, were, Sir Raynald Crawford, sheriff of the county of Ayr, and maternal uncle to Wallace; Sir Neil

³ The manner of his taking the castle of Sanquhar, is thus described by Hume of Godscroft, in his History of the House of Douglas:—"There was one Anderson that served the castle, and furnished it with wood and fuel. The lord Douglas directs one of his trustiest and stoutest of his servants to deal with him, or to find some means to betray the castle to him, and to bring him within the gates only. Anderson, either persuaded by entreaty, or corrupted by money, gave my lord's servant, called Thomas Dickson, his apparel and carriages; who, coming to the castle, was let in by the porter for Anderson. Dickson stabbed the porter; and, giving the signal to my lord, who lay near by with his companions, set open the gates, and received them into the court. They, being entered, killed the captain, and the whole of the English garrison, and so remained masters of the place. The captain's name was Beauford, who had oppressed the country that lay near him very insolently. One of the English that had been in the castle, escaping, went to the other garrisons that were in other castles and towns adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellows, and withal informed them how the castle might be recovered. Whereupon, joining their forces together, they came, and besieged it. Lord Douglas, finding himself straitened, and unprovided of necessaries for his defence, did secretly convey his man, Dickson, out at a postern or some hidden passage, and sent him to William Wallace for aid. Wallace was then in Lennox; and, hearing of the danger Douglas was in, made all the haste he could to come to his relief. The English, having notice of Wallace's approach, left the siege, and retired towards England, yet not so quickly, but that Wallace, accompanied by Sir John Graham, did overtake them, and killed five hundred of their number, before they could pass Dalswinton. By these, and such like means, Wallace, with his assistants, having beaten the English from most parts of their strengths in Scotland, did commit the care and custody of the whole country, from Drumlanrig to Ayr, to the charge of the lord Douglas."

Montgomerie, Sir Bryce Blair, and Crystal of Seaton.⁴ Wallace, on hearing of this circumstance, instantly set forward towards Ayr, accompanied by his confederates; and, about midnight, surrounded the barns, where the English soldiers were cantoned, set them on fire, and either killed, or forced back to perish in the flames, all who endeavoured to escape. Many of the English soldiers who lodged in a convent, were, at the same time, attacked and put to the sword by the friars: and this is still proverbially called the Friar of Ayr's Blessing. On returning from Ayr, with a body, it is said, of three hundred men, Wallace proposed to make an attack upon Glasgow, which was possessed by an English force of a thousand soldiers. With this purpose, he divided his band into two, giving the command of one of them to Boyd of Auchinleck,⁵ with instructions to make a circuit and enter the town at an opposite point, while he himself would engage in the front. Wallace came in contact with the English, near the present site of the college; a desperate and well-contested combat ensued: the leader of the English fell beneath the sword of Wallace; and, on the appearance of Boyd, the English were thrown into confusion, and pursued, with great loss, as far as Bothwell castle.

These, and similar gallant exertions in the cause of Scotland, at length roused the indignation of the English monarch, who had been at first inclined to treat them with disdain. Calling forth the military force on the north of the Trent, he sent Sir Henry Percy, nephew of the earl of Surrey, and Sir Robert Clifford, into Scotland to reduce the insurgents, at the head of an army of forty thousand foot, and three hundred fully caparisoned horse. The English army marched through Annandale to Lochmaben, where, during the night, their encampment was suddenly surprised, and attacked with great fury by Wallace and his party, who, however, in the end, were obliged to retire. At break of dawn, the English advanced towards Irvine, and soon discovered the Scottish squadrons drawn up on the border of a small lake. The force of the latter was unequal to a well-appointed army; but Wallace was among them, and under his conduct they might have made a successful resistance. Dissensions, however, arose among the chiefs as to precedence; and they were, perhaps, the more untractable from a conviction of their inferiority to the enemy. Sir Richard Lundin was the first to set the example. Exclaiming that he would not remain with a party at variance with itself, he left the Scottish camp, and went over with his retainers to the English. He was followed in this by Bruce, (afterwards the hero of Bannockburn,) who had lately joined the Scottish army; by the steward of Scotland, and his brother; by Alexander de Lindesay; William, lord of Douglasdale; and the bishop of Glasgow. All these acknowledged their offences, and for themselves and their adherents made submission to Edward. A treaty⁶ to this effect, to which their seals were appended, was drawn up in Norman French, and a copy transmitted to Wal-

⁴ Barbour, a credible author, says, (alluding to Crystal of Seaton,)

It wes gret sorrow sekirly,
That so worthy persoune as he,
Suld on sic manner hangyt be:
This gate endyt his worthynes,
And off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes,
And Schyr Bryce als the Blar,
Hangyt in till a barne in Ar.

The Bruce, iii. 260.

⁵ The father of this warrior, in consequence of the gallantry he displayed at the battle of Largs, obtained a grant of lands in Cunningham from Alexander III.

⁶ It is dated 9th July, 1297. See Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 774.

lace ; but this brave and patriotic man rejected it with disdain. It is supposed that Sir John Grahame and Sir Robert Boyd were not present on this occasion ; their names are not in the treaty ; and historians say, that Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell was the only baron who remained with Wallace, after this disgraceful desertion.

Undismayed by the occurrence, Wallace retired to the north, after venting his indignation on the castle and lands of the bishop of Glasgow, who was the negotiator of the treaty, and who, by his intrigues, had the common fortune of being suspected by both parties. There are no authentic memorials regarding the particular actions of Wallace during the summer months that intervened between the treaty of Irvine and the battle of Stirling ; but he seems to have been active and successful in raising a formidable army. The spirit of his countrymen was now roused. Knighton, an old English historian, informs us, that "although the nobility of Scotland had attached themselves to England, THE HEART OF THE PEOPLE WAS WITH WALLACE, and the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and their prince." The cause of this is obvious. Many, or most of the nobles, were Normans, of recent connexion with Scotland, still disposed to look rather to England than to Scotland as their country, and to the English monarch, than to the Scottish, as their sovereign : while the common people had no attachment but to their native soil, and their native prince. Wallace was one of the Anglo-Normans who sided with the body of the people, in this quarrel, and it is easy to see that much of the jealousy of the nobility towards him, was excited by the reflection, that he deserted the cause of his kindred aristocracy, for the sake of popular and national rights.

It was when Wallace had succeeded in expelling the English from the castles of Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and nearly all their strongholds on the north of the Forth, and had just begun the siege of the castle of Dundee, that intelligence reached him of the English army, under the command of the earl of Surrey and Cressingham, the treasurer, being on its march to oppose him. Charging the citizens of Dundee to continue, on pain of death, the siege of the castle, he hastened with all his troops to guard the important passage of the Forth, before Surrey had passed the bridge at Stirling, and encamped behind a rising ground in the neighbourhood of the abbey of Cambuskenneth. His army, at this time, amounted to forty thousand foot, and a hundred and eighty horse. That of the English was superior in numbers, being fifty thousand foot, and one thousand horse. The Steward of Scotland, the earl of Lennox, Sir Richard Lundin, and others of the Scottish barons, were now with the English, and, on the army reaching Stirling bridge, they requested Surrey to delay an attack, till they had attempted to bring Wallace to terms. They soon returned with the information, that they had failed in their efforts at a reconciliation, and that they had not been able to persuade a single soldier to desert. Surrey, who seems to have been aware of the danger of passing the bridge, as a last resource, sent two friars to offer a pardon to Wallace and his followers, on condition that they would lay down their arms. But the spirit of Wallace was unsubdued. "Go back to your masters," he said, "and tell them, that we stand not here to treat of peace, but to avenge the wrongs, and restore the freedom of our country. Let the English come on—we shall meet them beard to beard." On hearing this defiance, the English impatiently demanded to be led to the attack ; but Surrey, alive to the strong position occupied by the Scots, hesitated, until overcome by the taunts and impatience of Cressingham. "Why, my lord," cried this insolent churchman, "should we protract the war, and spend the king's money ? Let us forward as becomes us, and do our knightly duty."

The English army began to cross the bridge, led by Sir Marmaduke Twenge

and Cressingham; and when nearly the half had passed, Wallace charged them with his whole force, before they had time to form, and threw them into inextricable confusion. A vast multitude was slain, or drowned in the river in attempting to rejoin Surrey, who stood on the other side, a spectator of the discomfiture. Cressingham, the treasurer, was among the first who fell; and so deeply was his character detested, that the Scots mangled his dead body, and tore the skin from his limbs.⁷ Twenge, by a gallant struggle, regained the bridge, and got over to his friends. A panic seized the English who stood with Surrey, spectators of the rout. Abandoning their wagons and baggage, they fled precipitately, burning the bridge, (which was of wood,) to prevent pursuit. The earl of Lennox and the Scottish barons, perceiving this, threw off their mask of alliance with Edward; and, being joined by part of the Scottish army, who crossed the river by means of a ford at some distance from the bridge, pursued the English with great vigour as far as Berwick, which was soon abandoned, and taken possession of by the victorious army. It is not known how many of the English fell at this battle, but the slaughter must have been great, as few of those who crossed the bridge escaped; and the Scots, smarting under the cruel insolence and rapacity with which they had been treated, gave little quarter. On the side of the Scots, few of any note were slain, with the exception of Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the faithful companion of Wallace, whose son, some time after, was made regent of Scotland.

This decisive engagement took place on the 11th of September, 1297; and its consequences were important. The castles of Dundee, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, immediately surrendered to Wallace: and in a short time not a fortress or castle in Scotland remained in the hands of the English. Thus, through the means of one man, was Scotland delivered from the iron yoke of Edward, and her name and independence among the nations of the earth restored.

Wallace was now declared, by the voice of the people, governor and guardian of the kingdom, under Baliol.⁸ About the same time, a severe dearth and famine, the consequence of bad seasons and the ravages of war, afflicted Scotland; and Wallace, with the view of procuring sustenance for his followers, and of profiting by his victory at Stirling, resolved upon an immediate expedition into England. For the purpose of raising a formidable army, he commanded that from every county, barony, town, and village, a certain proportion of fighting men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, should be levied; and although the jealousy of the Scottish nobility began to be more than ever excited, and many endeavours were made by them to prevent cordial co-operation, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body of men, with whom he marched towards the north of England, taking with him, as his partner in command, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, son of the gallant knight who fell at the battle of Stirling bridge. The approach of the Scottish army, struck the inhabitants of the northern counties with terror: they abandoned their dwellings, and, with their cattle and household goods, took refuge in Newcastle. "At this time," says Hemingford, an English historian, "the praise of God was unheard in any church or monastery throughout the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle; for the monks, canons regular,

⁷ It is said in an old MS. Chronicle, that Wallace made a sword-belt of Cressingham's skin. This may be the origin of the story, that the Scots made *girths* of his skin; an absurdity upon which lord Hailes is at the pains of passing a joke.

⁸ His title runs thus in a document of his own time:—"Willelmus Walays, miles, custos regni Scotiæ, et ductor exercituum ejusdem, nomine præclari Principis Domini Johannis, Dei gratia, regis Scotiæ illustris, de consensu communitalis ejusdem."

and other priests, who were ministers of the Lord, fled, with the whole people, from the face of the enemy: nor was there any to oppose them, except that, now and then, a few English, who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strongholds, ventured from their safe-holds, and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes; and the Scots roved over the country, from the Feast of St Luke's to St Martin's Day, inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestrained rapine and bloodshed."⁹ All the tract of country, from Cockermouth and Carlisle, to the gates of Newcastle, was laid waste; and it was next determined to invade the county of Durham. But the winter set in with such severity, and provisions became so scarce, that multitudes of the Scots perished through cold and famine, and Wallace was obliged to draw off his army. It seems that he endeavoured in vain to restrain many outrages of his followers. The canons of Hexham, a large town in Northumberland, complained to him that their monastery had been sacrilegiously plundered, and that their lives were in danger. "Remain with me," he said; "for I cannot protect you from my soldiers, when you are out of my presence." At the same time, he granted them a charter, by which the priory and convent were admitted under the peace of the king of Scotland; and all persons interdicted, on pain of the loss of life, from doing them injury. This curious document still exists. It is dated at Hexham on the 8th of November, 1297.

After his return from England, Wallace proceeded to adopt and enforce those public measures, which he considered necessary for securing the liberty of his country. With the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility, he conferred the office of constabulary of Dundee, on Alexander, named Skirmischur, or Scrimgeour, and his heirs, "for his faithful aid in bearing the banner of Scotland."¹⁰ He divided the kingdom into military districts, in order to secure new levies, at any time when the danger or exigency of the state required them. He appointed an officer or sergeant over every four men, another of higher power over every nine, another of still higher authority over every nineteen; and thus, in an ascending scale of disciplined authority, up to the officer, or chiliarch, who commanded a thousand men. In other respects, his administration was marked by justice and sound judgment. He was liberal in rewarding those who deserved well of their country, by their exertions during its late struggle for liberty; and strict in punishing all instances of private wrong and oppression. But the envy and jealousy of the higher nobility, who could ill brook the elevation of one whose actions had thrown them so much into the shade, perplexed the councils, and weakened the government, of the country, at a time when the political existence of Scotland depended on its unanimity.

Edward was in Flanders when the news reached him, that the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, had entirely defeated Surrey, driven every English soldier out of their country, invaded England, and, in short, had thrown off effectually the yoke with which he had fettered them. Inflamed against them, at this overthrow of his exertions and schemes, he issued orders to all the forces of England and Wales to meet him at York; and, concluding a truce with France, hastened home, to take signal vengeance on the assertors of their liberty, and to make final conquest of a country which had proved so contumacious and untractable. At York, he held a parliament, on the Feast of

⁹ In retaliation, lord Robert Clifford twice invaded Annandale with an army of twenty thousand men and one hundred horse. In his second inroad, the town of Annan, which belonged to Robert Bruce, and the church of Gysborne, were burnt and plundered. This is said to have determined Bruce to desert the English, and join the party of Wallace.

¹⁰ This grant is dated at Torphichen, 29th March, 1298.

Pentecost, 1298, where, to secure the hearty co-operation of his subjects in his invasion of Scotland, he passed several gracious and popular acts, and came under a promise of ratifying more, should he return victorious. He soon found himself at the head of an army, formidable in number, and splendid in equipment. It consisted at first of seven thousand fully caparisoned horse, and eighty thousand infantry; and these were soon strengthened by the arrival of a powerful reinforcement from Gascony. A large fleet, laden with provisions, had orders to sail up the Frith of Forth, as the army advanced.

The English rendezvoused near Roxburgh; and, about midsummer, advanced into the country by easy marches. A party under Aymer de Valloins, earl of Pembroke, landed in the north of Fife. Wallace attacked and routed them in the forest of Black Ironside, 12th June, 1298. Among the Scots, Sir Duncan Balfour, sheriff of Fife, was the only person of importance who fell in this engagement.

This partial success, however, of the ever-active guardian of his country, could not affect the terrible array that was now coming against him. He had no army at all able to compete with Edward; and his situation was rendered more perilous by the mean fears and jealousies of the nobility. Many of these, alarmed for their estates, abandoned him in his need; and others, who yet retained a spirit of resistance towards the English supremacy, envied his elevation, and sowed dissensions and divisions among his council. Wallace, however, with a spirit equal to all emergencies, endeavoured to collect and consolidate the strength of the country. Among the barons who repaired to his standard, only the four following are recorded: John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger; Sir John Stewart of Bonkill; Sir John Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, the granduncle of the young earl of Fife. Robert Bruce remained with a strong body of his vassals in the castle of Ayr.¹¹ As the army of Wallace was altogether unequal to the enemy, he adopted the only plan by which he could hope to overcome it. He fell back slowly as Edward advanced, leaving some garrisons in the most important castles, driving off all supplies, wasting the country through which the English were to pass, and waiting till a scarcity of provisions compelled them to retreat, and gave him a favourable opportunity of attacking them.

Edward proceeded as far as Kirkliston, a village six miles west of Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance, except from the castle of Dirleton, which, after a resolute resistance, surrendered to Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham. But a devastating army had gone before him, and his soldiers began to suffer severely from the scarcity of provisions. At Kirkliston, therefore, he determined to wait the arrival of his fleet from Berwick; but, owing to contrary winds, only a few ships reached the coast; and, in the course of a month, his army was reduced to absolute famine. An insurrection, also, arose among the English and Welsh cavalry, in which the latter, exasperated at the death of several of their companions, threatened to join the Scots. "Let them go," said Edward, courageously: "I shall then have an opportunity of chastising all

¹¹ The story told by Fordun of the interview between Wallace and Bruce on the banks of the Carron, after the battle of Falkirk, is not well borne out by the circumstances of the parties. Bruce was not present at the battle, and at that period did not belong to the English interest; which is proved by the fact, that, after that fatal engagement, he fled from his castle at Ayr on the approach of Edward. At the same time, it must be confessed, that he held a suspicious neutrality with regard to Wallace; and, if we can reconcile ourselves to the probability of a meeting between these two heroes, it is not difficult to suppose that it might be, in its general bearing, such as it is represented. About 1817 or 1818, an expatriated Scotsman offered a prize to any one who should write the best poem on this heroic interview. Mrs Hemans, who afterwards distinguished herself by many beautiful effusions in verse, was the successful competitor.

my enemies at the same time." Worn out, however, by a daily increasing famine, Edward was at last obliged to abandon his prospects of ambition and revenge, and to issue orders for a retreat to the eastern borders. It was at this critical moment, when the English army began to break up their quarters, that Edward, through the treachery of two Scottish lords, Patrick, earl of Dunbar, and the earl of Angus, received information that the Scots lay encamped in the forest of Falkirk; and that it was the intention of Wallace to surprise him by a night attack, and to hang upon and harass his rear. "Thank God," cried Edward: "they shall not need to follow me; I shall go and meet them." His army was immediately marched towards Falkirk, and on the evening of the day on which he received the information, encamped on a heath near Linlithgow.

Next morning, (July 22nd, 1298,) the Scottish army was described forming on a stony-field at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk. It did not amount in number to the third part of the English, and, weak as it was, is said by the Scottish historians to have been still further weakened by fatal dissensions. Wallace, however, seems to have availed himself of every advantage which his situation and circumstances permitted. He placed his army on the front of a morass, and divided his infantry into four compact bodies of a circular form. In these masses composed of his spearmen, and called Shiltrens,¹² consisted the strength of the Scottish army; for they were linked together so closely that it was extremely difficult to break them.¹³ In the spaces between the Shiltrens were placed the archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill, and at some distance in the rear was drawn up the cavalry, amounting to no more than a thousand. When he had thus drawn up his little army, and the enemy appeared in view, Wallace said pleasantly to his men, "I have brought you to the ring; let me see how you can dance."¹⁴

The English monarch arranged his army into three divisions; the first headed by Bigot, earl Marshall, and the earls of Hereford and Lincoln; the second by the bishop of Durham and Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton; and the third by Edward himself, who, although wounded on the previous night by a kick from his horse, was yet able to mingle in the engagement. The first division led on the attack; but was checked by the morass that stretched along the front of the Scottish position, and obliged to make a circuit to the west. Meanwhile, the second line, under the command of the bishop of Durham, and Basset, inclined to the right, turned the morass, and advanced towards the left flank of the Scottish army. The bishop proposed to defer the attack till the rest of the army should advance. "Return to thy mass, bishop," said Basset, sneeringly. "Not so," answered the bishop: "we are all soldiers to-day; lead on!" At the same moment the first division made its appearance,

¹² This word is used by Barbour, in his description of the battle of Bannockburn:—

'For Scotsmen that them hard essayed,
'That then were in a *shiltren* all.'

¹³ 'Ther formost convey ther bukkis togidere sette,
Ther speres, point over point, so sare, and so thikke
And fast togidere joynt, to se, it was ferlike,
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wende no man of blode thorgh them suld haf gone.'

Langtoft's Chronicle, book ii.

¹⁴ The words of Wallace were, "*I haif brocht you to the ring; hap, gif you cun.*" The *ring* means the *danse à la ronde*. *Hap* is an old word for *dance*.

'The dansand priestis, clepit Salii,
Happand and singand.'

Douglas's Æneid, viii. 21.

Lord Hailes supposes *cun* to be an obsolete verb of the noun and adjective *cunning*, still used as, "Let my right hand forget its *cunning*," &c.; and translates "*gif you cun*," *if you have skill*. But we should imagine *cun* to be simply *can*, corruptly spelt:—"Gif you *cun*,"—*if you can*.

having extricated itself from the morass; and they both attacked the Scottish shiltrons simultaneously. The shock was tremendous. The English cavalry was fully caparisoned and armed, and made desperate endeavours to break through the columns of the Scottish infantry; but were gallantly withstood. "They could not penetrate that wood of spears," says one of their historians. Their charges were repeatedly repulsed, notwithstanding that the Scottish horse, commanded by some of the nobles at variance with Wallace, either from mean jealousy towards him, or fear at the number and force of the English, did not come to the assistance of the infantry, but left the field without striking a blow. Edward then brought forward his numerous body of archers, a class of soldiers for which England was long celebrated, and who, as a proverbial illustration of the accuracy of their aim, were said to carry each twelve Scotsmen's lives under their girdle, because they generally bore twelve arrows in their belt. These by thick and incessant volleys dreadfully galled the Scottish columns. The archers on the Scottish side were a small but select body from the forest of Selkirk,¹⁵ under the command of Sir John Stewart. In one of the charges, Sir John was thrown from his horse. His faithful bowmen crowded around him, and tried to rescue him; but in vain. They all perished; and their bodies were afterwards recognized by the English, as being the tallest and handsomest on the field. Still the infantry under Wallace did not give way, and still his sword flashed with terrific effect, amidst the throng of the English cavalry, and the unceasing shower of the English arrows. But the firm columns of the Scots were at length disunited by dreadful gaps of slain, and they could no longer withstand the overpowering numbers borne against them. Macduff and all his vassals from Fife were killed, and at last Sir John the Graham fell by the side of Wallace. To him, of all others, Wallace was particularly attached; and when he saw him fall, he plunged with tenfold fury into the thickest of his enemies, dealing with his irresistible arm death and destruction around him. It was impossible, however, that with the handful of men to which his army was now reduced, he could for any length of time successfully oppose the strength brought against him. He was obliged at last to make good his retreat, and gained a neighbouring wood, leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead on the field.¹⁶

According to Blind Harry, Wallace, when the English had removed to Linlithgow, returned to the field of battle, in order to obtain the body of his friend, Sir John the Graham. This is somewhat countenanced by the fact, that Sir John lies buried in the church-yard of Falkirk, having the following inscription on his grave-stone, which has been several times renewed:

MENTE MANUQUE POTENS ET VALLAE FIDVS ACHATES,
CONDITUR HIC GRAMVS, BELLO INTERFECTUS AB ANGLIS,

XXII JULII ANNO 1298.

Here lies Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wise,
Ane of the cheefs who rescu'd Scotland thirise;
Ane better knight not to the world was lent
Nor was gude Grame of truth and hardiment.¹⁷

¹⁵ *The Foreste of Selkyrke* in those days comprehended not only the tract now known by that name, but also the upper parts of Clydesdale and Ayrshire.

¹⁶ The accounts of the loss on the Scottish side at the battle of Falkirk are extremely various. Fifteen thousand is stated above, on the authority of two English Chronicles, viz. the Norwich Chronicle, and the Chronicle of John Eversden. It seems nearer probability than any other account. Some of the English historians make it more than the actual amount of Wallace's army: Walsingham, 60,000; and Hemingford, 50,000. Trivet makes it 20,000; and Buchanan 10,000. From these accounts we may, at all events, conclude with certainty, that the Scots suffered severely. There is no account of the English loss. Only two men of note are mentioned as having fallen on their side; Sir Brian de Jaye, and the prior of Torphichen.

¹⁷ His grace the duke of Montrose possesses an antique sword, on which is the following inscription:

Blind Harry's description of the distress of Wallace, when he saw the body of his beloved friend and brother in arms, is touching in the extreme.

The corse of Grayn, for whom he murned maist,
 When thae him fand, and Gude Wallace him saw,
 He lychtyt down, and hynt him frae thame aw
 In armyss up. Behaldand his pale face,
 He kyssyt him, and cryt full oft, 'Alace!
 My best brothir in warld that evir I had!
 My afald freynd quhen I was hardest stad!
 My hope, my heill!—thow was in maist honour!
 My faith, my help, my strengthener in stour!
 In thee was wit, fredom, and hardiness;
 In thee was treuth, manhood, and nobilness;
 In thee was rewl; in thee was governans;
 In thee was virtue, withouten varians;
 In thee lawty; in thee was gret largness;
 In thee gentrice; in thee was stedfastness.
 Thow was gret cause off winning off Scotland,
 Thoch I began, and tok the war on hand.
 I vow to God, that has the warld in wauld,
 Thy dead sall be to Southearn full dear saild!
 Martyr thow art for Scotlandis rycht and me!
 I sall thee venge, or els therefor sall dee!

The remains of the Scottish army, in their retreat, burnt the town and castle of Stirling. Edward, who had not recovered from the kick he received from his horse, took up his quarters for some time in the convent of the Dominicans there, which had escaped the flames; and sent a division of his army into Clackmannanshire, Monteith, and Fifeshire, who laid waste the country. He then marched to the west, through the district of Clydesdale to Lanark, and afterwards to Ayr, where he found the castle forsaken, and burnt by Robert Bruce. A want of provisions prevented Edward from pursuing Bruce into Galloway, as he intended. After capturing Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, he was constrained to march through Annandale into England, leaving Scotland only partially subdued, and ready to rise into a new revolt against him.

Wallace, after the defeat of Falkirk, feeling how little he was supported by the nobility, and how much jealousy and envy his elevation had occasioned, resigned the office of governor of Scotland, reserving to himself no other privilege than that of fighting against the enemies of his country, at the head of such friends as might be inclined to adhere to him. His resignation was followed by the election of a regency, consisting, at first, of John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, and John de Soulis; to whom were afterwards added, as partners in administration, Bruce, earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, bishop of Saint Andrews.

The first enterprise of the new governors was against the castle of Stirling, which Edward had left garrisoned. To preserve that important place from falling into their hands, Edward determined upon another expedition into Scotland, and with that purpose assembled his army at Berwick; but the English

Sir Ione ye Grame, verry vicht and wyse,
 One of ye cheefs relievit Scotland thryse,
 Faght vith ys sword, and ner theut schame,
 Commandit nane to beir it bot his name.

Ninno's History of Stirlingshire.

barons, to whom he had not confirmed certain privileges as he had promised, refused to go farther, urging the inclemency of the season, and the danger of a winter campaign. He was, therefore, obliged to abandon his design, and to allow the English, who were beleaguered in Stirling, to capitulate.

In the course of the following year, (1300,) Edward, by confirming the charters of the barons, was enabled, once more, to prosecute his great object, the invasion and subjugation of Scotland. At the head of a great army, he entered the country by the western marches, and penetrated into Galloway. He was here met by a petition from the governors and community of Scotland, requesting that John Balliol, their lawful king, should be permitted to reign peaceably over them; but he rejected it with disdain. The Scottish army, now profiting by experience, confined itself to cutting off the supplies of the enemy; and Edward, after spending five months in the southern part of the country, without effecting anything material, found himself compelled, by the approach of winter, and the scarcity of provisions, to return to England. Before leaving Scotland, when no other alternative remained, he affected to listen to the mediation of France, and concluded a truce with the Scots, at Dumfries, 30th October, 1300, to endure till Whitsunday, 1301.

Meanwhile a new competitor to the crown of Scotland arose in the person of his holiness, pope Boniface VIII. This singular claim had been suggested to the Roman see by certain Scottish commissioners, who wished his holiness to interpose in behalf of their distracted country. The arguments upon which it was founded, were altogether absurd, (such as, "that Scotland has been miraculously converted to the Christian faith, by the relics of St Andrew," &c.); but Edward's own pretensions were clearly and justly refuted. As it was dangerous for the English monarch to break with the pope at this time, owing to several continental arrangements, Edward laid the affair before his barons, who protested, with much spirit, that they would not allow the rights of their sovereign to be interfered with by any foreign potentate; and, to soothe his holiness, he sent him a long letter in his own name, "not in the form (as he says) of an answer to a plea, but altogether extrajudicially;" wherein he enumerated all his claims to the superiority of Scotland, from the days of his "famous predecessor, Brutus, the Trojan," to his own.

In the ensuing summer, as soon as the truce had expired, Edward, accompanied by his son, the prince of Wales, and a great army, marched again into Scotland, and spent the winter at Linlithgow, where he ratified another truce with the Scots, to endure until Saint Andrew's day, 1302, and soon afterwards returned to London. On the expiry of this second truce, having gained Pope Boniface over to his interest, he sent Sir John de Segrave, a celebrated warrior into Scotland, with an army of 20,000 men, chiefly consisting of cavalry. Segrave, when near Roslin, on his march to Edinburgh, separated his army into three divisions; the first led by himself, the second by Ralph de Manton, called from his office of pay-master the *Cofîerer*, and the third by Robert de Neville. These divisions, having no communication established between them, were successively attacked and defeated at Roslin, on the 24th February, 1303, by a small body of 8000 horse, under the command of Sir John Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser. Ralph the Cofferer and Neville were slain. Segrave escaped, and fled, with the remains of his army, to England, leaving behind an immense booty.

But while the Scots thus persevered in defence of their country, Philip le Bel, king of France, upon whose alliance they had confided, concluded a treaty of peace with Edward, (20th May, 1303,) in which they were not included; and the English monarch, being now freed from foreign wars,

bent his whole force to make a complete conquest of Scotland, which had long been the ruling object of his ambition and exertions. His passions were now exasperated to the utmost by the repeated failures of his attempts, and he declared his determination either to subjugate it entirely, or to raze it utterly with fire and sword, and blot it out from existence in the list of nations. With this purpose, he marched into Scotland at the head of an army too powerful to be resisted by an unfortunate people, already broken down by the accumulated miseries that attended their long continued conflict with an unequal enemy. The inhabitants fled before him, or submitted to his power, and his whole course was marked by scenes of slaughter, devastation, and ruin. The governor, Comyn, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir William Wallace, with their followers, were driven into the fields and fastnesses of the country, from which they only issued in irregular predatory expeditions against detachments of the English. Edward continued his victorious progress as far as the extremity of the province of Moray, and the only fortress that opposed his course was the castle of Brechin, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered on the death of Sir Thomas Maule, its gallant commander, who was killed by a stone discharged from one of the besieging engines. Edward then returned to Dunfermline, where he spent the winter in receiving the submission of those who had not made their peace with him during his progress through the kingdom. Almost all the nobles gave in submissions. Bruce surrendered himself to John de St John, the English warden; and at last Comyn, the governor, and his followers, delivered themselves up to Edward, under a stipulation for their lives, liberties, and lands, and a subjection to certain pecuniary penalties. From this stipulation Edward excepted the following, as being more obstinate in their rebellion: Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, James, the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soulis, the late associate of Comyn in the government of the kingdom, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindsay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace. The bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Soulis, were to remain in exile for two years; Graham and Lindsay were to be banished from Scotland for six months; and Fraser and Bois for three years. "As for WILLIAM WALLACE," says the deed, "it is covenanted, that if he thinks proper to surrender himself, it must be unconditionally to the will and mercy of our lord the king."¹⁹

Soon after, an English parliament was held at St Andrews, to which the king summoned all the Scottish barons and nobles. The summons was obeyed

¹⁹ Langtoft, in his Chronicle, says that Wallace proposed, on certain terms, to surrender himself. These terms mark his bold and unsubdued spirit. Their effect upon Edward was to throw him into a fit of rage. The passage is as follows:

Turn we now other weyes, unto our owen geste,
 And speke of the Waleys that lies in the foreste;
 In the forest he lendes of Dounfermelyn,
 He praied all his frendes, and other of his kyn,
 After that Yole, thei wilde beseke Edward,
 That he might yelde till him, in a forward
 That were honorable to kepe wod or beste,
 And with his serite full stable, and seled at the leest,
 To him and all his to haf in heritage;
 And none otherwise, als term tyme and stage
 Bot als a propre thing that were conquest till him.
 Whan thei brouht that tething Edward was fulle grim,
 And bilauht him the fende, als traytoure in Lond,
 And ever-ilkon his frende that him susteyn'd or fond.
 Three hundreth marke he hette unto his warisoun,
 That with him so mette, or bring his hede to toun.
 Now flies William Waleis, of pres nouht he spedis,
 In mores and marais with robberie him fedis.

by all, except Sir William Oliphant, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir William Wallace. Oliphant held the castle of Stirling, and refused to capitulate. It was the only stronghold of Scotland not in the hands of the English; and Edward brought all his force to besiege it. Every engine known in those days was employed in the attack. After an obstinate defence for three months, of which the English historians speak with admiration, Sir William Oliphant and his little garrison were compelled to surrender at discretion. Fraser, too, despairing of further resistance, at last accepted the conditions of Edward, and offered himself up to the conqueror. WALLACE ALONE remained unsubdued, amid this wreck of all that was free and noble, standing like a solitary monument among the ruins of an ancient dynasty—destined *then* to be the emblem of his country's independence; *now*, to be its watchword, its pride, and its praise.

Having gained the submission of the principal men of Scotland, and, in the capture of Stirling, reduced the last castle which had resisted his authority, Edward returned to England, in the pleasing conviction that he had, at length, finally accomplished the object upon which so much of the blood and money of England had been expended. Yet, while Wallace still lived, he felt his possession insecure; and he used every possible means to obtain the person of this his first, most dangerous, and uncompromising opponent. After the battle of Falkirk, and his resignation of the governorship of Scotland, little is authentically known of the particular transactions of Wallace. Great part of the time between 1298 and 1305, was no doubt spent in desultory attempts to annoy the English garrisons and migratory parties. But that a portion was also devoted to a visit to France, as has been related by Blind Harry, and disputed by subsequent writers,²⁰ appears now to be equally certain; as a manuscript English chronicle, recently discovered by Mr Stevenson in the British Museum, speaks of such a visit, without the intimation of any doubt upon the subject. Wallace was probably induced to visit the French court, by a hope of obtaining some auxiliaries from Philip, for the purpose of carrying on the war against Edward; or, by a wish to urge the interests of Scotland, in the treaty which that monarch formed in 1303 with the English king, and in which Scotland was overlooked. Finding no success in either of these objects, he seems to have returned to his native country, to renew that partizan warfare, which was now the only method left to him of manifesting his patriotic feelings. That his deeds, however obscure, were of no small consequence, is shown by the eager solicitude which Edward evinced to secure his person, and the means which he took for effecting that end. Besides setting a great reward upon his head, he gave strict orders to his captains and governors in Scotland, to use every endeavour to seize him; and sought out those Scotsmen, who he had reason to think entertained a personal pique at Wallace, in the hope of bribing them to discover and betray him. Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight, then at his court, was employed to carry into Scotland, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners taken at Stirling castle, with the view of discovering and seizing the deliverer and protector of his country. What these creatures did in this dishonourable affair, or with whom they co-operated, is not known; the lamentable fact alone re-

²⁰ In the present narrative, it has been our endeavour to go no further than the well-accredited histories of both countries warrant; and the numerous stories told by Blind Harry of the less conspicuous deeds of Wallace, are completely overlooked. It is the opinion, however, of the latest inquirer into the history of the period, Mr P. F. Tytler, an opinion formed upon apparently the best grounds, that the Minstrel writes with a greater regard to the truth, and makes a much nearer approach to it, than has been generally supposed. We are indebted for the information, now given for the first time, in confirmation of the story of Wallace's French expedition, to the personal kindness of Mr Tytler, who saw and copied the document alluded to in the text.

mains, that Sir William Wallace was at last treacherously betrayed and taken, through the agency of one of his own countrymen, and one who had served under him against the English, Sir John Menteith, a baron of high rank; whose name, for this cause, is throughout Scotland, even unto this day, a byword of scorn and detestation.²¹ Wallace was made prisoner at Robroyston, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, on the 5th of August, 1305.

The fate of this great man was soon decided. He was first taken to Dumbarton castle,²² then under the command of Menteith, and afterwards carried to London, heavily fettered, and guarded by a powerful escort. The people in the northern counties of England are said to have exulted greatly at the news of his capture; and, as the cavalcade advanced, multitudes flocked from all quarters to gaze at its illustrious prisoner. On reaching London, he was lodged for the night in Fenchurch street, in the house of a citizen, by name William Delect;²³ and next day (23rd August,) carried to Westminster

²¹ Some attempt has been made (especially by lord Hailes, who seems to have sometimes opposed ordinary facts and notions, under the vulgar delusion of being philosophical and unprejudiced,) to deny that Sir John Menteith was the captor of Wallace. But no circumstance in history could be better corroborated than this. All the English and Scottish writers agree on the subject. The Chronicle of Lanercost Priory, a MS. of the *thirteenth* century, preserved in the British Museum, has this passage: "*Captus fuit Willelmus Wallace per unum Scotum, scilicet per Dominum Johannem de Mentithe, et usque London ad Regem adductus, et adjudicatum fuit quod traheretur, et suspenderetur, et decollaretur.*" Another ancient MS. (the *Scala Chronicle*) preserved at Cambridge, says, "*Wylliam Waleys was taken of the Counte of Menteth about Glasgowe, and sent to King Edward, and after was hangid, drawn, and quarterid, at London.*" Langtoft's Chronicle (another English authority) is also conclusive.

Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so neli,
He took him when he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi;
That was thought treson of Jak Short his man;
He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam.

From which it appears that Menteith prevailed on Jack Short, Wallace's servant, to betray him; and came under cover of night, and seized him in bed, "his leman by." Our Scottish historians, too, Fordun and Wynton, who flourished not a hundred years after Wallace, speak in an equally decisive manner of his capture. "*Anno Domini MCCC.V.,*" says Fordun, "*Willelmus Wallace per Johannem de Mentith fraudulentem et prodicionalem capitur, Regi Anglie traditur, Londinis demembratur.*" Wynton's chapter on the subject is headed thus:—

*Quhen Jhon of Menteth in his dayis
Dissavit gude Willame Walays.*

And, further, he says:—

A thousand thre hundyr and the fyft yere
Efter the byrth of our Lord dere,
*Schyre Jon of Menteth in the dayis
Tuk in Glasco Willame Walays.*

That Menteith was at one time a fellow soldier of Wallace, is proved by the following passage from Bower, preserved in the *Relationes Arnaldi Blair*:—"In hoc ipso anno (1299) viz. 23 die mensis Augusti, Dominus Wallas, Scotie custos, cum Johanne Grahame, et Johanne de Menteith, militibus; necnon, Alexandro Scrymgeour, constabulario villæ de Dundee et vexillario Scotie, cum quinquaginta militibus armatis, rebelles Gallovidienses punierunt, qui Regis Anglie et Cuminum partibus sine aliquo jure steterunt." As to any further intimacy between Menteith and Wallace, there is no evidence beyond Blind Harry and popular tradition.

²² A sword and mail are still shown in Dumbarton castle, as having belonged to Wallace.

²³ The following passage occurs in Stow's Chronicle: "William Wallace, which had oft-times set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought to London, with great numbers of men and women wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch street. On the morrow, being the eve of St Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster; John Segrave and Geffrey, knights, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, and many others, both on horseback and on

Hall, accompanied by the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city, and there arraigned of treason. A crown of laurel was in mockery placed on his head, because, as was alleged, he had been ambitious of the Scottish crown. The king's justice, Sir Peter Mallorie, then impeached him as a traitor to Edward, and as having burned villages, stormed castles, and slain many subjects of England. "I could not be a traitor to the king of England," said Wallace, "for I was never his subject, and never swore fealty to him. It is true I have slain many Englishmen; but it was in the defence of the rights and liberties of my native country of Scotland." Notwithstanding the truth and justice of his plea, Wallace was found guilty, and condemned to a cruel death. It is a stain on the character of Edward, and a reproach to the spirit of his age and country, that, while he pardoned, and even favoured many who had repeatedly violated their oaths of allegiance to him, he not only bestowed no mercy on this brave and true-hearted man, who had never professed allegiance, but, with an enmity which showed how little sympathy he had for his noble qualities, added insult to injustice, and endeavoured to heap indignity on the head of him whose name shall be through all ages honoured and revered by every generous breast. Sir William Wallace was dragged at the tails of horses through the streets of London to a gallows in Smithfield, where, after being hanged a short time, he was taken down, yet breathing, and his bowels torn out, and burned. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at New-castle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen. "These," says an old English historian, "were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfalon, which they had once proudly followed." But he might have added, as is well remarked by Mr Tytler, that "they were trophies more glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him; and if Wallace already had been the idol of the people, if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, throughout every change of circumstances, the independence of his country, now that his mutilated limbs were brought before them, it may well be conceived how deep and unextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge." Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonizing the memory of his enemy, and increasing the animosity of the Scottish people. Accordingly, we find, although the execution of Wallace may be said to have completed that subjugation of the country which the English monarch had been straining for, by force and fraud, during a period of fifteen years,—that in *less than six months* from the death of her great champion, Scotland, roused to the cause now sealed and made holy by her patriot's blood, shook off the yoke of England, and became once more a free kingdom.

WALLACE, JAMES, usually called Colonel Wallace, leader of the Covenanters at the battle of Pentland hills, was descended from the Wallaces of Dundonald, a branch of the Wallaces of Craigie. Neither the place, nor the year of his birth is known; but in the sentence of death, which was passed against him in absence, after the battle of Pentland, he is styled "of Auchens," an estate situated in the parish of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, and which was the family seat of his ancestors, and most probably his own birth-place. Of his education

foot, accompanying him; and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported; and being appeached for a traitour by Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's justice, he answered, that he was never traitour to the king of England; but for other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them; and was after headed and quartered."

there is equally little known, as of the other particulars alluded to. He appears, however, to have adopted the military profession at a very early period of life, and having distinguished himself in the parliamentary army, was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He went to Ireland in the marquis of Argyle's regiment in the year 1642, and in 1645, was recalled to oppose the progress of the marquis of Montrose. At what period of the struggle colonel Wallace joined the army of the covenanters, under general Baillie, is unknown, but he was at the battle of Kilsyth, where he was taken prisoner.

In 1650, when Charles II. came from the continent, at the entreaty of the Scottish parliament, two regiments being ordered to be embodied of "the choicest of the army, and fittest for that trust," one of horse and another of foot, as his body guards, Wallace was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the foot regiment, under lord Lorn, who was colonel. Sir James Balfour, lord Lyon King at Arms, by his majesty's command, set down the devices upon the ensigns and colours of these regiments. Those of the lieutenant colonel [Wallace] were azure, a unicorn argent, and on the other side in "grate gold letters," these words, "Covenant for religion, king, and kingdoms." At the battle of Dunbar Wallace was again made prisoner; and in the end of that year, lord Lorn, in a petition to the parliament, says, "In respect my lieutenant-colonel has, in God's good providence, returned to his charge, whose fidelity in this cause is well known both in Ireland and in this kingdom, and that his losses are very many and great, I do humbly desire that your majesty and this high court of parliament may be pleased in a particular manner to take notice of him, that he may not only have a company appointed him, but likewise something may be done, for the satisfaction of his former losses." Upon this petition the Committee of Bills reported, "that lieutenant-colonel Wallace may be referred to the Committee of Estates, that he may be assigned to some part of the excise or maintenance forth of the shire of Ayr, or any other of the shires in the south."

Colonel Wallace seems to have lived in retirement from the Restoration till the month of November, 1666, when Maclellan of Barscob, and some other gentlemen who had been driven into hiding, happening to fall in with some soldiers whom they found maltreating a poor old countryman, immediately disarmed the latter, and thus gave occasion to that rising, which, from the place where it was suppressed, has always been called the rising of Pentland. Having fairly committed themselves by their humane interference, these gentlemen conceived the design of anticipating the vengeance of Sir James Turner, by surprising him with his whole party where he lay in the town of Dumfries, about sixteen miles distant. Accordingly, having assembled their friends, to the number of about fifty horse, with a few foot, they marched into that town upon Thursday, the 15th of November, and made Sir James prisoner with his whole party, wounding only one man. The insurgents on this occasion, were led by a Mr Andrew Gray, a merchant in Edinburgh, who happened by chance to be in that part of the country at the time. Neilson of Corsack, however, was the leader, before whom Sir James Turner, upon being made prisoner, was brought. From this gentleman he obtained quarter and protection; but when Gray, the chief of the party, came up, he insisted upon having him shot upon the spot. They finally, however, set him upon a sorry beast, and carried him about with them in his dishabille, and in this manner proceeded to the market cross, where they drank the king's health, and prosperity to his government. Sir James, however, for some days could not believe but that they intended to hang him when they should find time and place suitable.

While these things were transacting in Dumfries, the friends of religion and

liberty, kept up a correspondence by special messengers, and continued deliberating on what was best to be done. Among others, Wallace joined a consultation, which was held at the chambers of Mr Alexander Robertson in Edinburgh, the same night that Sir James Turner was made prisoner. At this meeting it was resolved to make common cause with the western brethren, and seek redress from government with arms in their hands. Colonel Wallace, and a little band of adherents, lost no time in proceeding to Ayrshire, in the hope of being joined by the friends of religion and liberty there. They visited successively Mauchline, Ayr, Ochiltree, Cumnock, Muirkirk, and other places on the route; but met with little encouragement in their enterprise. Mr Robertson, who had been still less successful in procuring assistance, rejoined Wallace, along with captain Robert Lockhart, and insisted that the undertaking should be abandoned. This counsel was unpalatable to Wallace, but he forthwith sent Maxwell of Monreith to consult with John Guthrie, brother to the celebrated minister of Fenwick, on the subject. Having been reinforced by a small party from Cunningham, under captain Arnot, the whole body marched to Douglas, on Saturday the 24th, where, at night, after solemn prayer, the proposal of Robertson and Lockhart was carefully considered. It was rejected without one dissenting voice, all being clear that they had a Divine warrant for the course they were pursuing. They resolved, therefore, to persevere in it, although they should die at the end of it; hoping that, at least, their testimony would not be given in vain to the cause they had espoused. Two other questions were discussed at this meeting: the renewing of the covenants,—to which all agreed; and, what should be done with Sir James Turner, whom, for want of any place in which to confine him, they still carried about with them; and who, as a persecutor and murderer of God's people, it was contended by many, ought to have been put to death. As quarter, however, as it was alleged, had been granted to him, and as he had been spared so long, "the motion for pistoling him was slighted." On the morrow, Sabbath, they marched for Lesmahago, and passed the house of Robert Lockhart, where Mr Robertson also was, at the time; but neither of the two came out. This day, they perfected, as well as they could, the modelling of their force; but few as their numbers were, they had not the half of the officers requisite: they had not above four or five that had ever been soldiers. At night, they entered Lanark, crossing Clyde near the town. Next day, Monday, the 26th, guards being set upon the water in a boat, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, the covenants were renewed, Mr John Guthrie preaching and presiding to one part of the army, and Messrs Gilbert Semple and Crookshanks to the other; and the work was gone about "with as much joy and cheerfulness as may be supposed in such a condition." On this day, considerable numbers joined them; and, with the view of favouring the rising of their friends, who were understood to be numerous, in Shotts, West Calder, and Bathgate, they marched for the latter place; but did not reach it till late in the evening. Part of the way, a large body of the enemy's horse hung upon their rear; the roads were excessively bad, and the place could not so much as afford them a cover from the rain, which was falling in torrents. The officers went into a house for prayer, and to deliberate upon their further procedure, when it was resolved to march early in the direction of Edinburgh, in the hope of meeting their friends from that quarter, as well as those they had expected through the day. Scarcely, however, had the meeting broken up, when their guards gave the alarm of the enemy; and though the night was dark and wet in the extreme, they set out at twelve o'clock, taking the road through Broxburn, and along the new bridge for Collington. Daylight appeared as they came to the bridge, in the most miserable plight imagin-

able. From their Edinburgh friends there was no intelligence; and when they drew up on the east side of the bridge, there was not a captain with the horse, save one, and the enemy were close at hand, marching for the same bridge. Wallace, however, was a man of singular resolution, and of great self-possession. Even in these distressing circumstances, he sent a party to occupy the bridge, and marched off the main body of his little army to a rising ground, where he awaited the enemy to give him battle.

It was at this critical juncture, that Lawrie of Blackwood paid him a second visit, not to assist, but to discourage him, by proposing a second time that he should disband his followers, and trust to an indemnity, which he assured him the duke Hamilton would exert himself to obtain for them. As he had no credentials to show, and seemed to be speaking merely his own sentiments, without the authority of either party, Blackwood's proposal excited suspicions of his motives. He, however, remained with the party, which had now moved on to Collington, all night; and in the morning was the bearer of a letter from colonel Wallace to general Dalzell, who sent it to the council, while he hastened himself to pursue the insurgents. Wallace, in the mean time, marched to Ingliston bridge, at the point of the Pentland hills, and was in the act of drawing up his little party to prevent straggling, when he learned that Dalzell, with the advance of the king's troops, was within half a mile of him. There had been a heavy fall of snow through the night, but it was succeeded by a clear frosty day; and it was about noon of that day, the 28th of November, when the armies came in sight of each other. That of the insurgents did not exceed nine hundred men, ill-armed, worn out with fatigue, and half starving. The royal army, which amounted to upwards of three thousand men, was in the highest order, and well provided in all respects. Wallace disposed his little army with great judgment upon the side of a hill, running from north to south. The Galloway gentlemen, on horseback, under McClellan of Barmagachan, were stationed on the south; the remainder of the horse, under Major Learmont, on the north; and the foot, who were exceedingly ill armed, in the middle. Dalzell seems to have been for some time at a loss how to proceed; having such a superiority, however, in numbers, he detached a party of horse, under general Drummond, to the westward, in order to turn Wallace's left wing. This detachment was met by the Galloway gentlemen, under captain Arnot and Barmagachan, and completely routed in an instant; and had Wallace been in a condition to have supported and followed up this masterly movement, the king's army would inevitably have lost the day. A second attack was met by major Learmont, with equal spirit; and it was not till after sunset, when Dalzell himself charged the feeble unarmed centre with the strength of his army, horse and foot, that any impression was made upon them. This charge they were unable to resist, but were instantly broken and dispersed. The nature of the ground, and the darkness of the night, favoured their flight, and there were not more than one hundred of them killed and taken by the victors; but they were in an unfriendly part of the country, and many of the fugitives were murdered by their inhumane countrymen, for whose rights and liberties they were contending.

Colonel Wallace after the battle left the field, in company with Mr John Welch, and, taking a north-westerly direction along the hills, escaped pursuit. After gaining what they conceived to be a safe distance from the enemy, they turned their horses loose, and slept the remainder of the night in a barn. Wallace for some time concealed himself in different parts of the country, and at length escaped to the continent, where he assumed the name of Forbes. Even there, however, he was obliged to wander from place to place for several

years, to avoid his enemies, who still continued to seek him out. When the eagerness of the pursuit abated, he took up his residence at Rotterdam, where Mr Macward and Mr John Brown had found an asylum, and were now employed in dispensing ordinances to numerous congregations; but on the complaint of one Henry Wilkie, whom the king had placed at the head of the Scottish factory at Campvere, who found his interests suffering by the greater resort of Scottish merchants at Rotterdam, for the sake of enjoying the ministry of these worthy men, the states-general were enjoined by the British government to send all the three out of their territories. In the case of Wallace, the states were obliged to comply, as he had been condemned to be executed as a traitor, when he should be apprehended, and his lands forfeited for his majesty's use; but they gave him a recommendation to all kings, republics, &c., &c., to whom he might come, of the most flattering description. In the case of the other two, the order seems to have been evaded. Wallace ventured in a short time back to Holland, and died at Rotterdam in the end of the year 1678, "lamented of all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance, who were many; and, in particular, the members of the congregation, of which he was a ruling elder, bemoaned his death, and their loss, as of a father." "To the last, he testified his attachment to the public cause which he had owned, and his satisfaction in reflecting on what he had hazarded and suffered in its defence." He left one son, who succeeded to his father's property, as the sentence of death and of fugitation, which was ratified by the parliament in 1669, was rescinded at the Revolution.

Among the suffering Scottish exiles, there were few more esteemed than colonel Wallace. Mr Brown of Wamphray, in a testament executed by him at Rotterdam, in 1676, ordered one hundred guineas "to be put into the hands of Mr Wallace, to be given out by him to such as he knoweth indigent and honest;" and while he leaves the half of his remanent gold to Mr Macward, he leaves the other half to Mr Wallace. Mr Macward, who was honoured to close the eyes of his valued friend and fellow Christian, exclaims: "Great Wallace is gone to glory; of whom I have no doubt it may be said, he hath left no man behind him in that church, minister nor professor, who hath gone through such a variety of tentations, without turning aside to the right hand or to the left. He died in great serenity of soul. When the cause for which he suffered was mentioned, when it was scarce believed he understood or could speak, there was a sunshine of joy looked out of his countenance, and a lifting up of hands on high, as to receive the martyr's crown; together with a lifting up of the voice, with an '*Aha*,' as to sing the conqueror's song of victory."

WALLACE, (DR) ROBERT, celebrated as the author of a work on the numbers of mankind, and for his exertions in establishing the Scottish Ministers' Widows' Fund, was born on the 7th January, 1697, O.S. in the parish of Kincardine in Perthshire, of which his father, Matthew Wallace, was minister.¹ As he was an only son, his early education was carefully attended to. He acquired Latin at the grammar-school of Stirling, and, in 1711, was sent to the university of Edinburgh, where he passed through the usual routine of study. He was one of the original members of the Rankenian club, a social literary fraternity, which, from the subsequent celebrity of many of its members, became remarkably connected with the literary history of Scotland. Mr Wallace directed his studies towards qualifying himself for the church of Scotland. In 1722, he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Dumblane, and in August, 1723, the marquis of Anandale presented him with the living of Moffat.

Dr Wallace had an early taste for mathematics, to which he directed his at-

¹ Scots Magazine, xxxiii. 340. lxxi. 391.

tention while a student at the university, and on that study he bestowed many of his spare hours during his ministry. He has left behind him voluminous manuscript specimens of his labours; but it will probably be now considered better evidence of his early proficiency, that in 1720 he was chosen assistant to Dr Gregory, then suffering under bad health. Wallace was, in 1733, appointed one of the ministers of the Greyfriars' church in Edinburgh. The countenance of the government, which he had previously obtained, he forfeited in 1736, by refusing to read in his church the act for the more effectually bringing to justice the murderers of Porteous, which the zealous rage of the ministry and the house of peers had appointed to be read from the pulpit. He was in disfavour during the brief reign of the Walpole ministry; but under their successors was intrusted with the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. The revolution in the ministry happened at a moment when Dr Wallace was enabled to do essential service to his country, by furthering the project of the Ministers' Widows' Fund. The policy of that undertaking was first hinted at by Mr Mathieson, a minister of the high church of Edinburgh; Dr Wallace in procuring the sanction of the legislature, and Dr Webster, by an active correspondence, and the acquisition of statistical information, brought the plan to its practical bearing, by apportioning the rates, &c., and afterwards zealously watched and nurtured the infant system. As the share which Dr Wallace took in the promotion of this measure is not very well known, it may be mentioned, that it appears from documents in the office of the trustees of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, that he was moderator of the General Assembly in 1743, which sanctioned the measure. In the ensuing November he was commissioned by the church, along with Mr George Wishart, minister of the Tron church, to proceed to London, and watch the proceedings of the legislature regarding it. He there presented the scheme to the lord advocate, who reduced it to the form of a Bill. The corrections of Messrs Wallace and Wishart appear on the scroll of the Bill.

In 1744, Dr Wallace was appointed one of the royal chaplains for Scotland. He had read to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, of which he was an original member and active promoter, a "Dissertation on the numbers of Mankind in ancient and modern times," which he revised and published in 1752. In this work he was the first to apply to purposes of investigation one of those truisms which, however plain, are never stated until some active mind employs them as foundations for more intricate deductions, that the number of human beings permanently existing in any portion of the earth must be in the ratio of the quantity of food supplied to them. The explanation of this truth by Dr Wallace has been acknowledged by Malthus, and the work in which it was discussed has acquired deserved fame for the mass of curious statistical information with which the author's learning furnished it; but in the great theory which he laboured to establish, the author is generally allowed to have failed. He maintained, as a sort of corollary to the truth above mentioned, that where the greatest attention is paid to agriculture, the greatest number of human beings will be fed, and that the ancients having paid greater attention to that art than the moderns, the world of antiquity must have been more populous than that of modern days. Were all food consumed where it is produced, the proposition would be true, but in a world of traffickers, a sort of reverse of the proposition may be said to hold good, viz., that in the period where the smallest *proportion* of the human beings on the surface of the earth is employed in agriculture, the world will be most populous, because for every human being that exists, a quantity of food sufficient to live upon *must* be procured; for procuring this food the easiest method will always be preferred, and therefore when the proportion of persons engaged in agriculture is the smaller, we are to presume, not

that the less is produced, but that the easier method of providing for the aggregate number has been followed. The great engine of facilitating ease of production is commerce, which makes the abundance of one place supply the deficiency of another, in exchange for such necessities and luxuries, as enable the dwellers on the fertile spot to bestow more of their time in cultivation than they could do, were they obliged to provide these things for themselves. Hence it is pretty clear, that increase of populousness has accompanied modern commerce. Previously to the publication of this treatise, Hume had produced his invaluable critical essay on the populousness of ancient nations, in which, on politico-economical truths, he doubted the authenticity of those authorities on the populousness of antiquity, on many of which Wallace depended. In publishing his book, Dr Wallace added a long supplement, discussing Hume's theory with much learning and curious information, but leaving the grounds on which the sceptic had doubted the good faith of the authorities unconfuted. Wallace's treatise was translated into French, under the inspection of Montesquieu; and was republished in 1809, with a life of the author. Dr Wallace's other published works, are "A Sermon, preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, Monday, January 6, 1745-6, upon occasion of the Anniversary Meeting of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge;" in which he mingled, with a number of extensive statistical details concerning education, collected with his usual learning, and tinged with valuable remarks, a political attack on the Jacobite insurrection of the period, and the motives of its instigators, "Characteristics of the Present State of Great Britain," published in 1758; and "Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence," published in 1761; in which he discussed the abstruse subjects of liberty and necessity, the perfectibility of human nature, &c. He left behind him a MS. essay on Taste, of considerable length, which was prepared for the press by his son, Mr George Wallace, advocate, but never published. From the new aspect which modern inquiries on this subject have assumed, in their adoption of the cumulative principle of association, this work can now be of little interest; but it may be worth while to know, that his "Principles of Taste," or sources from whence the feeling was perceived to emanate, were divided into, 1st, grandeur; 2nd, novelty; 3rd, variety; 4th, uniformity, proportion, and order; 5th, symmetry, congruity, or propriety; and, 6th, similitude and resemblance, or contrast and dissimilitude.

Dr Wallace died on the 29th of July, 1771, in consequence of a cold, caught in being overtaken in a walk by a snow storm. His son George, already mentioned, is known as the author of a work on the Descent of ancient Peerages, and "Principles of the Law of Scotland," which has fallen into obscurity.

WARDLAW, HENRY, bishop of St Andrews, and founder of the university there, was descended from the Wardlaws of Torry, in Fife, and was nephew to Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, who was created a cardinal by pope Urban VI., in the year 1381. The subject of this memoir, having received the usual education of a churchman, was appointed, not improbably through the interest of his uncle, to the office of precentor in the cathedral church of Glasgow. He afterwards went to Avignon, probably on some mission from his dignified relative. While residing at the papal court there, Thomas Stewart, son to Robert II., king of Scotland, who had been elected bishop of St Andrews, died, and the subject of this memoir was preferred to the vacant see by pope Benedict XIII., in the year 1404. He returned to Scotland shortly after, bearing the additional title and office of pope's legate for Scotland. Being a man of strict morals, his first care was to reform the lives of the clergy, which had become profligate to an extreme degree. In the mean time, king Robert III., having lost his eldest son David, by the treacherous cruelty of his brother

the duke of Albany, to secure the life of his son James, sent him to the care of bishop Wardlaw, who, dreading the power and the cruelty of Albany, advised his father to send him to France to the care of Charles VI., on whose friendly dispositions he assured him he might confidently rely. On the seizure of James, in 1404, by Henry IV. of England, the bishop was left at liberty to pursue his plans of improvement at his leisure, but from the unsettled state of the country, and the deplorable ignorance which prevailed among all classes of the community, with very little success. With the view of surmounting these obstacles, he erected a college at St Andrews in 1411, for which he procured a confirmation from Pope Benedict in the year following. His agent on this occasion was Alexander Ogilvy. On the return of this missionary in the year 1412, with the bull of confirmation, bonfires were kindled, bells were rung, and the night spent with every demonstration of joy. The next day was devoted to a solemn religious procession, in which there were four hundred clergymen, besides novices of various orders and degrees. The model upon which the bishop formed this university was that of Paris, where, it is probable, he had received his own education; and he nominated Mr John Shevez, his first official, Mr William Stephen, afterwards bishop of Dunblane, and Sir John Leister, a canon of the abbey, readers of divinity, Mr Laurence Lindores, reader of the canon, and Mr Richard Cornwall of the civil law, and Messrs John Gow, William Foulis, and William Croisier, professors of philosophy, "persons," says Spotiswood, "worthy of being remembered for being the first instruments that were employed in that service, and for the attendance they gave upon it, having no allowance for their labour." Buchanan has not recorded the names of these worthy men, but he alludes to them when he says, "the university of St Andrews was founded through the efforts of learned men, who gratuitously offered their services as professors, rather than from any stipendiary patronage either of a public or private character." For sixty-four years after its foundation the lectures were read in a wooden building called the pedagogy, erected on the spot where St Mary's now stands, the number of students amounting, if we may credit some authors, to several thousands. The professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees.¹

Notwithstanding all the bishop's industry, and the diligence of his professors, matters do not seem to have mended with the clergy. King James, after his return, attempted to check their licentiousness without effect, as they had now got beyond the reach of all authority except that of the court of Rome. The university seems as yet to have been wholly unappreciated by the only classes who could partake of its benefits; for we find the monarch, in order to rid himself of the profligate clergy, bestowing a large portion of his attention on the establishment of schools, and supporting them liberally, that they might be available to all ranks. Learned men he induced by rewards to attend him, and as often as he could disengage himself from public business he resorted to the scene of their disputations, and listened to their discourses. By these means he laboured to overcome the ignorant prejudices of his nobility, who, look-

¹ Forty-four years after this, viz., 1455, while the pedagogy was yet standing, archbishop Kennedy founded St Salvador's college, and in 1512, one hundred and one years after the foundation of the pedagogy, prior Hepburn founded St Leonard's. The pedagogy being taken down, St Mary's or Divinity college was erected in its stead. Towards this erection the two Beaton's, David and James, contributed considerable sums, and lectures on theology were there first introduced by cardinal Beaton's successor, archbishop Hamilton, about the year 1557. St Salvador's and St Leonard's were in comparatively recent times conjoined, and go by the name of the United college. St Mary's is still distinct, and by the favour of different individuals, all of them have been pretty liberally endowed.

ing at the worthless and ignoble lives of the clergy, only conceived that learning, to which the latter urged an exclusive claim, was the nurse of idleness and sloth, and fit to be exercised only in the gloom of a monastic cell. In these generous and truly princely endeavours, however, James was grievously thwarted by the exhausted condition of the public revenues, which, what with foreign wars, and domestic seditions, had almost entirely disappeared. To remedy this evil he called a parliament at Edinburgh, mainly with a view to relieve the hostages that remained in England for the king's ransom, of which one half, or two hundred thousand merks, stood unpaid. To raise this money a general tax of twelve pennies on the pound of all land, spiritual and temporal, and four pennies on every cow, ox, and horse for the space of two years was imposed. This tax, however, was so grievously resented by the people, and so many extortions were committed in its exaction, that the generous monarch, after the first collection, compassionately remitted what was unpaid, and, so far from being enabled to be more generous in rewarding men of learning and talents, the greater number of the hostages for his ransom were allowed to die in bondage, from his inability to redeem them. What good was in his power, however, he did not fail to perform. He invited from the universities on the continent no fewer than eighteen doctors of theology, and eight doctors of the canon law. He attended in person the debates in the infant university of St Andrews, and visited the other seminaries of learning. He advanced none to any dignity in the church but persons of learning and merit; and he passed a law, that no man should enjoy the place of a canon in any cathedral church till he had taken the degree of a bachelor in divinity, or of the canon law. He placed choristers and organs in every cathedral in the kingdom; and, that the nobility might be compelled to apply themselves to learning, he ordained, that no nobleman should be allowed to accede to his father's estates till he was in some degree acquainted with the civil law, or the common law of his own country. James was also careful to encourage artists from abroad to settle among his rude people, who were miserably destitute of all the conveniences and comforts of civilized life.

A degree of prosperity, for a long period unknown in Scotland, followed; and, in its train, if we may believe Buchanan, ease, luxury, and licentiousness, and, to such an extent, as not only to disturb the public tranquillity, but to destroy all sobriety of individual conduct. Hence, he says, arose sumptuous entertainments by day, and revellings by night, masquerades, a passion for clothes of the most costly foreign materials, houses built, not for use but for show, a perversion of manners under the name of elegance, native customs came to be contemned, and, from a fastidious fickleness, nothing was esteemed handsome or becoming that was not new. All this was charged by the common people, though they themselves were following it up as fast as possible, upon the courtiers who had come with the king from England, in the train of his queen, Jane, daughter to the duke of Somerset. Nor did the king himself escape blame, though, by his own example, he did all that he could to repress the evil; for not only were his dress and his household expenses restrained within the most moderate bounds, but extravagance of every kind he repressed, wherever he beheld it. The matter, however, was considered of so great importance by some of the Scottish nobility, who were accustomed themselves to wear the plainest habiliments, to live on the plainest and simplest description of food, and to accustom themselves to all manner of privations, in order to fit them for the fatigues of war, that they pressed the bishop to move the king to call a parliament, for abolishing these English customs, as they were called. A parliament was accordingly assembled at Perth, in the year 1430, when it was

enacted that pearls should be worn only by ladies, who were permitted to hang a small collar of them about their necks. All furs and crimines, and excessive use of gold and silver lace, all banqueting and riotous feasting, with other abuses of a similar kind, were prohibited; and this prohibition, says the writer of the bishop's life, was so effectual, that no more complaints of the kind were heard of. The bishop, though remarkable for the great simplicity of his character, for his piety and well meaning, was yet a greater enemy to what he believed to be heresy, than to immorality. In 1422, John Resby, an Englishman, was apprehended by Lawrence Lindores, professor of common law in the newly erected university of St Andrews, who accused him in the ecclesiastical court of having denied the pope's vicarship, &c., &c. For this, Resby was condemned to be burnt alive, and suffered accordingly. In the year 1432, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was also apprehended in the university of St Andrews, and accused before the bishops' court of following Wickliffe and Huss; of denying that the substance of bread and wine, in the sacrament, was changed by virtue of any words; of denying that confession should be made to priests; or that prayer should be offered up to saints. He likewise was condemned and burnt alive, at the instigation of the bishop. Notwithstanding this, Wardlaw was celebrated for his charity; and though he laboured to suppress the riotous living which had become so general in the kingdom, he was yet a man of boundless hospitality. It is recorded of him, that the stewards of his household, on one occasion, complained to him of the numbers that resorted to his table, to share in the good things which it afforded; and requested that, out of compassion for his servants, who were often quite worn out with their labours, he would furnish them with a list of his intended guests, that they might know how many they should have to serve. To this he readily assented, and sent for his secretary, to prepare the required document. The latter having arranged his writing materials, inquired who was to be put down. "Put down, first," replied the bishop, "Fife and Angus," (two large counties). This was enough: his servants, appalled by anticipations of a list which began so formidably, instantly relinquished their design of limiting the hospitality of their generous master. For the benefit of his diocese, the bishop built a bridge over the Eden, near its mouth. Dempster charges him with having written a book, "*De Reformatione Cleri et Oratio pro Reformatione convivorum et luxus*;" but this seems to have been simply a speech which he delivered in parliament on the sumptuary laws, and which, by some miracle, similar to that so often employed by Livy, has found its way into the Scottish histories.

Wardlaw departed this life in his castle of St Andrews, on the 6th day of April, 1440, and was buried in the church of that city, with great pomp and splendour, having held his dignified situation for nearly forty years.

WATSON, (Dr) ROBERT, author of the History of the Reign of Philip II. of Spain, was born at St Andrews about the year 1730. He was the son of an apothecary of that city, who was also a brewer. He studied successively at the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, with a view to the ministry, availing himself of the leisure which a course of theology leaves to the student to cultivate English literature and rhetoric, upon which subjects he delivered a series of lectures in Edinburgh, to an audience comprising the principal literary and philosophical men of the day.

Soon after he had been licensed to preach, a vacancy occurred in one of the churches of his native city, and for this he became a candidate, but was disappointed. About this time, however, Mr Rymer, the professor of logic in St Salvador's college, feeling the infirmities of old age advancing upon him, was inclined to enter into a negotiation for retiring, and, according to a

prevailing though not a laudable custom, Watson obtained his chair for the payment of a small sum of money, and on the condition that the retiring professor should continue to enjoy his salary. The subject of our memoir obtained at the same time a patent from the crown, constituting him professor of rhetoric and belles lettres. The study of logic, in St Andrews, as in most other places, was confined to syllogisms, modes, and figures. Watson, whose mind had been expanded by intercourse with the most enlightened men of his day, and by the study of the best modern literature, prepared and read to his students a course of metaphysics and logic on an improved plan; in which he analyzed the powers of the mind, and entered deeply into the nature of the different species of evidence of truth or knowledge.

After having fully arranged the course of his professional duties, Watson was induced by the success of Robertson and Hume in the composition of history, as well as by the natural tendencies of his mind, to attempt a work emulating theirs in labour and utility. The reign of Philip II. of Spain presented itself to him as a proper subject, not only on account of its intrinsic interest, but as a continuation of the admired work of Robertson on the preceding reign. Having therefore prepared this composition with all due care, it was published at London in 1777, in two volumes quarto. A periodical critic thus characterizes the work: "The style and narration of this history deserve much praise; it is easy, flowing, and natural, always correct, and well adapted to the different subjects which come under review; it possesses, however, more of the dignified simplicity and strength of the philosopher, than the flowing embellishments of the poet. Watson rests none of his merit upon external ornament; he is chiefly anxious to relate facts, clearly and completely in their due proportion and proper connexion, and to please and interest, rather by what he has to tell than by any adventitious colouring. But though he does not seem solicitous to decorate his narrative with beauty or sublimity of diction, we feel no want of it; we meet with nothing harsh, redundant, or inelegant; we can on no occasion say that he has not done justice to his subject, that his conceptions are ever inadequate, his views deficient, or his description feeble. * * * The whole series of events lies full and clear before us as they actually existed; nothing is heightened beyond truth by the false colourings of imagination, nor does anything appear without suitable dignity. The principal circumstances are selected with judgment, and displayed with the utmost perspicuity and order. On no occasion are we at a loss to apprehend his meaning, or follow the thread of his narrative; we are never fatigued with minute attentions, nor distracted with a multiplicity of things at once."¹

On the death of principal Tullidolph, November 1777, Watson, now graced with the degree of doctor of laws, was, through the influence of the earl of Kinnoul, appointed to that respectable situation, and, at the same time, presented to the church and parish of St Leonard, in St Andrews, which had previously been enjoyed by Tullidolph. Dr Watson died March 31, 1781, leaving by his lady, who was a daughter of Mr Shaw, professor of divinity in St Mary's college, five daughters. He also left the first four books of a history of the Reign of Philip III., being a continuation of his former work. The task of completing this by the addition of two books having been confided to Dr William Thomson, (see the life of that gentleman,) the work was published at London in 1783, in one volume quarto. Both of this and of the history of Philip II., there were subsequent editions in octavo.

¹ See, volumes vii. and viii.

WATT, JAMES, one of the most illustrious men of his time as a natural philosopher, chemist, and civil engineer, was born at Greenock, on the 19th of January, 1736. His father, James Watt, was a block-maker and ship chandler, and for some time one of the magistrates of Greenock; and his mother, Agnes Muirhead, was descended from a respectable family. During boyhood his health was very delicate, so that his attendance at school was by no means regular; nevertheless, by assiduous application at home, he soon attained great proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and, by the perusal of books that came within his command, he extended his knowledge beyond the circle of elementary instruction of the public schools, and cherished that thirst for information which is the characteristic of all men of genius, and for which he was throughout life remarkable. An anecdote of his boyhood has been preserved, showing the early bent of his mind. His aunt, Mrs. Muirhead, sitting with him one evening at the tea-table, said, "James, I never saw such an idle boy! Take a book, or employ yourself usefully; for the last half hour you have not spoken a word, but taken off the lid of that kettle, and put it on again." With the aid alternately of a cup and a silver spoon, he was observing how the steam rose from the spout and became condensed, and was counting the drops of water. But there is little incident in his life until he reached his eighteenth year, excepting that he manifested a strong predilection for mechanical and mathematical pursuits. In accordance with this natural bent, he departed for London, in 1754, in order to learn the profession of a mathematical instrument-maker. When he arrived in London, he placed himself under the direction of a mathematical instrument-maker, and applied himself with great assiduity, and with such success, that, although he was obliged, from want of health, to return to his father's roof in little more than a year, yet he persevered, and soon attained proficiency in his business. He made occasional visits to his mother's relations in Glasgow, a city at that time considerably advanced in that career of manufacturing industry and opulence, for which it has in more recent times been so eminently distinguished. In that city, it was his intention to settle as a mathematical instrument-maker; but he was violently opposed by some corporations of the trades, who viewed him as an intruder upon their privileges, although the business which he intended to follow, was at that time little practised in Scotland. By this occurrence, the hopes of Watt had been well nigh frustrated, and the energies of his inventive mind had probably been turned in a different channel from that which distinguished his future years, had it not been for the kind and well directed patronage of the professors of the university. In the year 1757, this learned body, who had at that time to reckon among their number some of the greatest men then living—Smith, the political economist, Black, the chemist, and Simson, the geometer—conferred upon Watt the title of mathematical instrument-maker to the university, with all the privileges of that office, and chambers within the walls of their venerable seminary, adjoining the apartments occupied by the celebrated printers, the Messrs Foulis. He continued to prosecute his avocation in this place for about six years, during which time, so far as health and necessary employment would permit, he applied himself to the acquisition of scientific knowledge. It was during this period, also, that he contracted a lasting friendship with Dr Black, whose name will ever be conspicuous in the history of philosophy, for his valuable additions to our knowledge of the doctrine of heat; and also with Robison, then a student in Glasgow college, and who afterwards filled the natural philosophy chair in the university of Edinburgh.

This period of Watt's life was marked by an incident, which in itself might

appear trifling, and not at all out of the course of his ordinary business, but which was nevertheless productive of results, that not only gave immortality to his name, but impressed a great and lasting change on the commerce and manners of his own country, and also of a great portion of the world. We here allude to a circumstance that shall shortly be mentioned, that led to the improvements of Watt on the steam engine; and the events of his life are so intimately interwoven with the history of the perfection of this extraordinary machine, that it will be necessary, in a brief and popular way, to describe the leading principles of its action.

The steam engine, at the time of which we speak, was constructed after the plan invented by Newcomen. The chief use to which these engines were applied, was the pumping of water from coal mines, one end of the pump rod being attached to a long lever, or beam supported in the middle. To the other end of this lever was attached the rod of a piston, capable of moving up and down in a cylinder, after the manner of a common syringe. The weight of the pump rod, &c., at the one end of the beam, having caused that end to descend, the other end was necessarily raised, and, the piston rising in the cylinder, steam was admitted from the bottom to fill the vacuity. But when the piston arrived at the top, cold water was injected at the bottom, and by reducing the temperature of the steam, condensed it, forming a vacuum. In this state of things, the atmosphere pressing on the top of the piston, forced it down, and raised the pump rod at the other end of the beam. This operation being continued, the pumping of the mine was carried on. Such was the form of the steam engine, when Watt first found it; and such is its construction at many coal mines even in our own day, where the economy of fuel is not a matter of any importance.

Anderson, the professor of natural philosophy, in the course of the winter of 1763, sent a model of Newcomen's engine to Mr Watt in order to be repaired. This was accordingly done, and the model set in operation, and with this an ordinary mechanic would have been satisfied. But the mind of the young engineer had two years before this time been occupied in researches into the properties of steam. During the winter of 1761, he made several very simple yet decisive experiments, for the most part with apothecaries' phials, by which he found that a cubic inch of water will form a cubic foot of steam, equal in elasticity to the pressure of the atmosphere, and also that when a cubic foot of steam is condensed by injecting cold water, as much heat is given out as would raise six cubic inches of water to the boiling point. To these important discoveries in the theory of steam, he subsequently added a third, beautifully simple, as all philosophical truths are, and valuable from its extensive application to practical purposes: he found that the latent heat of steam decreases as the sensible heat increases, and that universally these two added together make a constant quantity which is the same for all temperatures. This matter is commonly misrepresented, and it is stated not only in accounts of the steam engine, but also in memoirs of Mr Watt, that the discoveries of Dr Black regarding the properties of heat and steam laid the foundation of all Watt's inventions. Dr Black himself gave a correct statement of the matter, and frequently mentioned with great candour, that Mr Watt discovered unaided the latent heat of steam, and having communicated this to the doctor, that great chemist was agreeably surprised at this confirmation of the theory he had already formed, and explained that theory to Mr Watt; a theory which was not made public before the year 1762. During the same year Watt made some experiments with a Papin's digester, causing the piston of a syringe to move up and down by the force of steam of

high temperature, on the principle of the high pressure engine, now employed for various purposes. But he gave up the idea from fear of bursting the boiler, and the difficulty of making tight joints. These facts are sufficient to prove that he had at this time some idea of improving the steam engine; and he himself modestly says, "My attention was first directed in 1759, to the subject of steam engines by Dr Robison, then a student in the university of Glasgow, and nearly of my own age. Robison at that time threw out the idea of applying the power of the steam engine to the moving of wheel carriages and to other purposes; but the scheme was not matured, and was soon abandoned on his going abroad." His active mind, thus prepared, was not likely to allow the defects of the model which was put in his hands to pass unobserved. This interesting model, which is still preserved among the apparatus of the Glasgow university, has a cylinder whose diameter is two inches, the length of stroke being six. Having repaired it, he tried to set it a-going, the steam being formed in a spherical boiler whose diameter was about nine inches. In the course of these trials he found the quantity of steam, as likewise that of the cold injection water, to be far greater in proportion, than what he understood was required for engines of a larger size. This great waste of steam, and consequently fuel, he endeavoured to remedy by forming cylinders of bad conductors of heat, such as wood saturated with oil, but this had not the desired effect. At last the fact occurred to him, that the cylinder was never sufficiently cooled down in order to obtain a complete vacuum. For some time before this it had been found by Dr Cullen that under diminished pressure there is a corresponding fall of the boiling point. It now became necessary to ascertain the relation which the boiling point bears to the pressure on the surface of the water. He was not possessed of the necessary instruments to try the boiling points under pressures less than that of the atmosphere, but having tried numerous points under increased pressures, he laid down a curve whose ordinates represented the pressures and abscissas the corresponding boiling points, and thus discovered the equation of the boiling point. These considerations led Watt, after much reflection, to the true method of overcoming the difficulties in the operation of Newcomen's engine. The two things to be effected were, 1st, to keep the cylinder always as hot as the steam to be admitted into it, and secondly, to cool down the condensed steam and the injection water used for condensation to a temperature not exceeding 100 degrees. It was early in the summer of 1765 that the method of accomplishing these two objects was first matured in his mind. It then occurred to him that if a communication were opened between a cylinder containing steam and another vessel exhausted of air and other fluids, the steam would immediately rush into the empty vessel, and continue so to do until an equilibrium was established, and by keeping that vessel very cool the steam would continue to enter and be condensed. A difficulty still remained to be overcome, how was the condensed steam and injection water, together with the air, which must necessarily accompany, to be withdrawn from the condensing vessel. Watt thought of two methods, one by a long pipe, sunk into the earth, and the other by employing a pump, wrought by the engine itself; the latter was adopted. Thus was laid open the leading principle of a machine the most powerful, the most regular, and the most ingenious, ever invented by man.

Watt constructed a model, the cylinder of which was nine inches diameter, making several improvements besides those above alluded to. He surrounded the cylinder with a casing, the intervening space being filled with steam to keep the cylinder warm. He also put a cover on the top, causing the piston rod to move through a hole in it, and the piston was rendered air-tight by

being lubricated with wax and tallow, instead of water as formerly. The model answered the expectations of the inventor, but in the course of his trials the beam broke, and he set it aside for some time.

In tracing the progress of improvement in the steam engine, we have been obliged to pass over some incidents in his life which took place during the same period, and which we now proceed to notice. In the course of the year 1763, Mr Watt married his cousin Miss Miller, daughter of the chief magistrate of Calton, Glasgow; previously to which he removed from his apartments in the college, and opened a shop in the Saltmarket, opposite St Andrew's Square, for the purpose of carrying on his business as Mathematical and Philosophical instrument-maker. Here he applied himself occasionally in making and repairing musical instruments, and made several improvements on the organ. He afterwards removed to Buchanan's land in the Trongate, a little west of the Tontine, and in 1768 he shut shop, and removed to a private house in King Street, nearly opposite to the Green market. It was not, however, in any of these residences that the interesting experiments and valuable discoveries connected with the steam engine were made; the experiments were performed, and the model erected in the delft work at the Broomielaw quay, in which concern Watt soon after became a partner, and continued so to the end of his life.

In 1765, Dr Lind brought from India a perspective machine, invented there by a Mr Hurst, and showed it to his friend Mr Watt, who, by an ingenious application of the principle of the parallel ruler, contrived a machine much lighter, and of more easy application. Many of these machines were made and sent to various parts of the world; and Adams, the eminent philosophical instrument-maker, copied one of those sent to London, and made them for sale.

Mr Watt, having relinquished the business of mathematical instrument-maker, commenced that of civil engineer, and in the course of 1767, he surveyed the Forth and Clyde canal; but the bill for carrying on this great and beneficial public work being lost in parliament, his attention was directed to the superintendence of the Monkland canal, for which he had previously prepared the estimates and a survey. He likewise surveyed for the projected canal between Perth and Forfar, as also for the Crinan canal, which was subsequently executed under the superintendence of Rennie.

In 1773, the importance of an inland navigation in the northern part of Scotland between the eastern and western seas became so great, that Mr Watt was employed to make a survey of the Caledonian canal, and to report on the practicability of connecting that remarkable chain of lakes and valleys. These surveys he made, and reported so favourably of the practicability of the undertaking, that it would have been immediately executed, had not the forfeited lands, from which the funds were to be derived, been restored to their former proprietors. This great national work was afterwards executed by Mr Telford, on a more magnificent scale than had originally been intended.

What Johnson said of Goldsmith may with equal justice be applied to Watt, "he touched not that which he did not adorn." In the course of his surveys, his mind was ever bent on improving the instruments he employed, or in inventing others to facilitate or correct his operations. During the period of which we have been speaking he invented two micrometers for measuring distances not easily accessible, such as arms of the sea. Five years after the invention of these ingenious instruments, one Mr Green obtained a premium for an invention similar to one of them, from the Society of Arts, notwithstanding the evidence of Smeaton and other proofs that Watt was the original contriver.

Mr Watt applied for letters patent in 1768, for "methods of lessening the consumption of steam, and consequently of fuel in the steam engine," which passed the seals in January, 1769. Besides the improvements, or rather inventions, already alluded to, this patent contained in its specification methods to employ the steam expansively upon the piston, and, where water was not plentiful, to work the engine by this force of steam only, by discharging the steam into the open air after it has done its office; and also methods of forming a rotatory steam engine. Thus was completed Watt's single reciprocating engine, and while the patent was passing through the different stages an engagement was entered into between the inventor and Dr Roebuck of the Carron iron works, a man equally eminent for kindness of heart, ability, and enterprise. The terms of this agreement were, that Dr Roebuck, in consideration of his risk of capital, should receive two-thirds of the clear profits of the sale of the engines which they manufactured. Dr Roebuck at this time rented the large coal mines at Kinneil, near Borrowstownness, and under the superintendence of Mr Watt an engine was erected at Kinneil house, the cylinder of which was made of block tin, being eighteen inches diameter. The action of this engine far surpassed even the sanguine expectations of the proprietors. Preparations were accordingly made for the manufacture of the new steam engine; but the pecuniary difficulties in which Dr Roebuck became at this time involved, threw a check on the proceedings. From this period till the end of 1773, during which time, as we have seen, Mr Watt was employed in surveys, &c., little was done with the patent right obtained in 1769. About the end of the year 1773, while Mr Watt was engaged in his survey of the Caledonian canal, he received intimation from Glasgow of the death of his wife, who left him a son and a daughter.

His fame as an engineer had now become generally known, and about the commencement of 1774, he received an invitation from Mr Matthew Boulton, of the Soho foundry, near Birmingham, to enter into copartnership, for the manufacture of the steam engine. Mr Watt prevailed upon Dr Roebuck to sell his share of the patent right to Mr Boulton, and immediately proceeded to Birmingham, and entered on business with his new partner. This new alliance was not only exceedingly fortunate for the parties themselves, but forms an important era in the history of the manufactures of Great Britain. Few men were so well qualified as Boulton to appreciate the merits of Watt's inventions, or possessed of so much enterprise and capital to put them into operation. He had already established the foundry at Soho on a scale of magnificence and extent, not at that time elsewhere to be found; and the introduction of Watt made an incalculable addition to the extent and regularity of its operation.

The length of time and great outlay necessary for bringing the manufacture of steam engines to such a state as would yield a remuneration, was now apparent to Mr Watt, and he clearly saw that the few years of his patent which had yet to run, would not be by any means sufficient to yield an adequate return. Early, therefore, in 1774, he applied for an extension of his patent right, and by the zealous assistance of Drs Roebuck and Robison, he obtained this four years afterwards, the extension being granted for twenty-five years. The year following the first application for the extension of the patent, the manufacture of steam engines was commenced at Soho, under the firm Boulton, Watt, and Co. Many engines were made at this foundry, and licenses granted to miners in various parts of the country to use their engines, on condition that the patentees should receive a third part of the saving of coals of the new engine, compared with one of the same power on Newcomen's construction. An idea

may be formed of the profits arising by this arrangement, when we know that from the proprietors of three large engines erected at Chacewater in Cornwall, Watt and Boulton received £800 annually.

John Smeaton had for many years been employed in erecting and improving the steam engine on Newcomen's principle, and did as much for its perfection as beauty and proportion of mechanical construction could effect. The fame of Smeaton does not rest on his improvements on the steam engine. What he has done in other departments of engineering, is amply sufficient to rank him as one of the most ingenious men England ever produced. Yet even what he has left behind him, in the improvement of Newcomen's engine, is well worthy the study, and will ever elicit the admiration, of the practical mechanic. To a man of weaker mind than Smeaton, it must have been galling to see all the ingenuity and application which he had bestowed on the subject of steam power, rendered almost useless by the discovery of a younger man. Yet when he saw Watt's improvement, he was struck with its excellence and simplicity, and with that readiness and candour which are ever the associates of true genius, he communicated to Mr Watt, by a complimentary letter, the high opinion he held of his invention; admitting that "the old engine, even when made to do its best, was now driven from every place, where fuel could be considered of any value." How different this from the treatment he received from inferior individuals, labouring in the same field! His right to the invention of a separate condenser, was disputed by several, whose claims were publicly and satisfactorily refuted. Among others, he was attacked in a strain of vulgar abuse, and a tissue of arrant falsehoods, by a Mr Hornblower, who wrote the article "Steam Engine," in the first and second editions of Gregory's Mechanics. This Mr Hornblower, not contented with giving his own shallow evidence against Watt, has, with the characteristic grovelling which pervades the whole of his article, endeavoured to give weight to his assertions, by associating with himself a respectable man. Mr Hornblower states, that, in a conversation with Mr S. Moor, secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, that gentleman had stated that Mr Gainsborough was the true inventor of the separate condenser. Mr Moor had doubtless an intimate knowledge of the true state of the matter; and, fortunately for his reputation as a sincere and candid man, we find him controvert this upon oath, at his examination in the case, Watt and Boulton *versus* Bull, in 1792.

In 1775, Mr Watt married, for the second time. The lady, Miss M'Gregor, was the daughter of Mr M'Gregor, a wealthy merchant of Glasgow, who, as will be seen hereafter, was the first in Britain, in conjunction with Mr Watt, to apply chlorine in the process of bleaching. From this time, Watt applied himself assiduously to the improvement of that powerful machine for which he had already done so much. In 1781, he took out a patent for the regulating motion, and that beautiful contrivance, the sun and planet wheel. The short history of this latter invention, gives an apt illustration of his exhaustless powers of contrivance. For the purpose of converting the reciprocating motion of the large beam into a rotatory movement for driving machinery, he had recourse to that simple contrivance, the crank; but while it was preparing at Soho, one of the workmen communicated it to Mr Steed, who immediately took out a patent, and thus frustrated Watt's views. Mr Watt sought himself of a substitute, and hit upon the happy idea of the sun and planet wheel. This and the like occurrences may have given him that fondness for patents, with which he has frequently been charged.

During the course of the following year, two distinct patents were granted to Mr Watt, one in February, and the other in July, for an expansive engine—

six contrivances for regulating the motion—double acting engine—two cylinders—parallel motion, by rack and sector—semirotative engine—and steam wheel. A third was granted in 1784, for a rotative engine—parallel motions—portable engine and steam carriage—working hammers—improved hand gear, and new method of working the valves. The most important of these inventions are, the double acting engine, in which steam is admitted both below and above the piston alternately, steam pressure being thus employed to press on each side of the piston, while a vacuum was formed over the other. By this contrivance, he was enabled to double the power of the engine, without increasing the dimensions of the cylinder. To the complete effecting of this, he was obliged to cause the piston rod to move through a stuffing box at the top of the cylinder; a contrivance, it must be stated, which had been some years previous applied by Smeaton, in the construction of pumps. Simple as these additions may at first appear, they were, nevertheless, followed by many great advantages. They increased the uniformity of motion, and at the same time diminished the extent of cooling surface, the size of boiler, and the weight and magnitude of the whole machinery. Another vast improvement involved in these patents, is the expansive engine in which the steam was let fully in, at the beginning of the stroke, and the valves shut, when the piston had advanced through a part of its progress, the rest being completed by the expansion of the steam; which arrangement greatly increases the power. This engine was included in the patent for 1782; though Mr Hornblower had published something of the same nature the year before. But an engine on the expansive principle was erected by Watt at Shadwell iron works in 1778, and even two years before expansive engines had been manufactured at Soho; facts which secure to Watt the honour of the priority of discovery. That ingenious combination of levers which guided the piston rod, and is called the parallel motion, was secured by patent of 1784, and remains to this day unsurpassed as a beautifully simple mechanical contrivance.

In 1785, a patent was granted to Mr Watt for a new method of constructing furnaces, and the consumption of smoke. He likewise applied to the steam engine the governor, or conical pendulum, the steam and condensation gauges, and the indicator. About the same time, in consequence of the delay and expense attendant on the numerous experiments towards the perfection of this vast creator and distributor of power, he found it necessary to apply to parliament for an extension of his patent, which was granted to the end of the eighteenth century. By this grant, the proprietors of the Soho foundery were enabled speedily to realize a great fortune.

In the winter of the year 1786, the subject of this memoir, together with his able and active partner, went to Paris, at the solicitation of the French government, in order to improve the method of raising water at Marley. Here Mr Watt met with most of the eminent men of science, who at that time adorned the French metropolis; and among the rest, the celebrated chemist, Berthollet. The French philosopher had discovered, in 1785, the bleaching properties of chlorine, and communicated the fact to Mr Watt, with the power of patenting the invention in England. This Mr Watt modestly declined doing, on the ground that he was not the author of the discovery. Mr Watt saw the value of this new process, and communicated the matter, through the course of the following year, to his father-in-law, Mr M'Gregor, who at that time carried on a large bleaching establishment in the vicinity of Glasgow. He sent an account of the process, together with some of the bleaching liquor, in March, 1787; and the process of bleaching by the new method was immediately commenced at Mr M'Gregor's field, and five hundred pieces were speedily executed

to entire satisfaction. Early in the following year, two foreigners made an attempt to gain a patent for the new bleaching process; but they were opposed by Mr Watt, and Messrs Cooper and Henry of Manchester, all of whom had already bleached by Berthollet's method. Notwithstanding the misrepresentations in several histories of bleaching, it is manifest from these facts, as well as from the dates of several letters of Mr Watt and Mr Henry, that the great improver of the steam engine, had also the honour of introducing the process of bleaching by chlorine into Great Britain; and though he was not the original discoverer, yet he greatly simplified and economised the process of obtaining the discharging agent employed, and the vessels and other arrangements used in the art of bleaching. Among other improvements may be mentioned, his method of testing the strength of the chlorine liquor, by ascertaining how much of it is necessary to discharge the colour of a given quantity of infusion of cochineal. The benefits which Mr Watt conferred on chemical science, did not terminate here. From a letter written to Dr Priestley in 1783, and in another to M. De Luc, in the same year, he communicated his important discovery of the composition of water. But in the beginning of the following year, Mr Cavendish read a paper on the same subject, claiming to himself the honour of discovery; and in the histories of chemistry, the claims of Cavendish are silently admitted. There is a confusion of dates in the documents on this subject, which at the present day it is impossible to reconcile; but from the characters of the two men, we are inclined to think that each made the discovery independently of the other, and that therefore the credit is due to both. Mr Watt's letter to M. De Luc was read before the Royal Society, and published in their Transactions for 1784, under the title of "Thoughts on the Constituent parts of Water, and of Dephlogisticated Air; with an Account of some Experiments on that subject." Mr Watt also contributed a paper on the medical properties and application of the factitious airs, to the treatise of Dr Beddoes on pneumatic medicine, and continued during the latter period of his life deeply to engage himself in chemical pursuits.

A patent was granted to Mr Watt in 1780, for a machine for copying letters and drawings. This machine, which soon became well known, and extensively used, was manufactured by Messrs Boulton and Kier, under the firm of James Watt and Company. He was led to this invention, from a desire to abridge the time necessarily spent in taking copies of the numerous letters he was obliged to write. It was constructed in two forms, on the principle of the rolling press, one of them being large, and fitted for offices; the other light, and capable of being inclosed in a portable writing desk. Through the course of the following year, Mr Watt invented a steam drying apparatus, for his friend, Mr M'Gregor, of Glasgow. For this machine he never took out a patent, although it was the first thing of the kind ever contrived; nor was there ever any drawing or description of it published during his lifetime.¹ During the winter of 1784, Mr Watt made arrangements for heating his study by steam; which method has since been extensively applied to the heating of private houses, conservatories, hot-houses, and manufactories. Concerning the history of this apparatus, it is but justice to state, that colonel Cook had, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1745, described a method of "heating apartments by means of the steam of water conveyed along the walls by pipes;" but there is no proof that this was known to Mr Watt.

In the year 1800, Mr Watt withdrew from the concern at Soho, delivering his share of the business to his two sons, James and Gregory, the latter of whom died in the prime of life, much regretted by all who knew him. After

¹ See Edinburgh Encyc. xviii., Steam Drying.

having given ample proofs of great mental endowments Mr Watt thus retired from business, with a well earned competency, which enabled him to enjoy the evening of a well spent life with ease and comfort in the bosom of his family. At no time had he taken any active share in the management of the business of the Soho foundry, nor were his visits to it, even while he was a partner, by any means frequent. Mr Boulton was a man of excellent address, great wealth, of business habits, and full of enterprise, and contributed greatly to the improvement of the steam engine, by taking upon himself the entire management of the works at Soho: he thus relieved from all worldly concern, the mind of his illustrious partner, which was much more profitably employed on those profound and valuable researches, by which he has added so largely to the field of science. As Dupin well observes, "men who devote themselves entirely to the improvement of industry, will feel in all their force the services that Boulton has rendered to the arts and mechanical sciences, by freeing the genius of Watt from a crowd of extraneous difficulties which would have consumed those days that were far better dedicated to the improvement of the useful arts."

Although Mr Watt retired from public business, he did not relax in his ardour for scientific pursuits and new inventions. Towards the end of the year 1809, he was applied to by the Glasgow Water Company to assist them in pointing out a method of leading water across the river, from a well on the south side, which afforded a natural filter. From a consideration of the structure of the lobster's tail, he formed the idea of a flexible main, with ball and socket joints, to be laid across the bed of the river, and which was constructed according to his plan in the summer of 1810. This ingenious contrivance gave such satisfaction, that another precisely similar was added a short time afterwards. Two years subsequent to this, he received the thanks of the Board of Admiralty, for his opinion and advice regarding the formation of the docks then carrying on at Sheerness.

About the year 1813, it was proposed to publish a complete edition of Dr Robison's works, and the materials were delivered, for the purpose of editing, into the hands of his able friend, Playfair, who, not having sufficient leisure for such an undertaking, transmitted them to Sir D. Brewster. The latter gentleman applied to Mr Watt for his assistance in the revision of the article "Steam Engine," for which article he had originally furnished some materials, when it first appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and to the article, in its new form, he furnished many valuable corrections and additions.

In 1817, Mr Watt paid a visit to his native country; and it surprised and delighted his friends to find that he enjoyed good health, his mind possessed its wonted vigour, and his conversation its wonted charms. During the last years of his life, he employed himself in contriving a machine for taking copies of pieces of sculpture. This machine never received the finishing touch of its inventor's hand; but it was brought to such perfection, that seven specimens were executed by it in a very creditable manner. Some of these he distributed among his friends, "as the productions of a young artist, just entering his eighty-third year." When this machine was considerably advanced in construction, Mr Watt learned that a neighbouring gentleman had been for some time engaged in a similar undertaking; and a proposal was made to Mr Watt, that they should jointly take out a patent, which he declined, on the ground, that from his advanced age, it would be unwise for him to enter upon any new speculation. It was always Mr Watt's opinion that this gentleman had no knowledge whatever of the construction of the machine.

The health of Mr Watt, which was naturally delicate, became gradually bet-

ter towards the latter period of his long and useful life. Intense headaches arising from an organic defect in the digestive system, often afflicted him. These were often aggravated and induced by the severe study to which he commonly subjected himself, and the perplexity arising from the frequent lawsuits in which he had been engaged towards the close of the eighteenth century. It must not be inferred from this last statement, that this great man, whose discoveries we have been recounting, was by any means litigiously inclined. His quiet and peaceful mind was ever disposed to shrink from the agitations of paper wars and law pleas, and to repose in the quiet retreats of science. Many attempts were made to pirate his inventions and to encroach upon his patent rights, against which he never made any other defence than that which became an honest man, *i. e.* an appeal for the protection of the law of the land. He lived to see all these attempts to rob him of the profits of his inventions, as well as the envy and detraction which are ever the followers of merit, silenced for ever, and terminated a long, useful, and honourable life in the full possession of his mental faculties, at his residence at Heathfield in Staffordshire, on the 25th of August, 1819, having reached his eighty-fourth year.

The fame of Watt will in future ages rest secure upon the imperishable basis of his many discoveries, and he will ever be ranked in the first class of those great men who have benefited the human race by the improvement of the arts of industry and peace. Even during his lifetime this was known and recognized, and he received several honorary distinctions. In 1784, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the year following he became fellow of the Royal Society of London. In 1787, he was chosen corresponding member of the Batavian Society; in 1806, he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the university of Glasgow; and ten years later, he was made a member of the national institute of France.

Respecting the private character of Watt it would be difficult to communicate an adequate idea of its excellence. Those who knew him will ever remember that in his private intercourse with society he elicited from them more love and admiration than they can ever express. He was benevolent and kind to all those who came about him, or solicited either his patronage or advice. His conversation was easy, fluent, and devoid of all formality; replete with profound and accurate information on all subjects, blended with pertinent and amusing anecdote—such that, when combined with his plain unaffected language, the mellow tones of his manly voice, his natural good humour and expressive countenance, produced an effect on those around him which will hardly ever fade from memory. He read much, and could easily remember and readily apply all that was valuable of what he read. He was versed in several of the modern languages, antiquities, law, and the fine arts, and was largely read in light literature. His character was drawn up by his friend Francis Jeffrey, with a fidelity and eloquence that has made it known to almost every one. We will, therefore, forbear to quote it here, and bring this memoir to a conclusion by placing before the reader what has been said of Watt by his illustrious countryman and friend, the author of *Waverley*. In the playful letter to captain Clutterbuck in the introduction to the *Monastery*, Sir Walter Scott gives the following lively description of his meeting in Edinburgh with this remarkable man:—"Did you know the celebrated Watt of Birmingham, captain Clutterbuck? I believe not, though, from what I am about to state, he would not have failed to have sought an acquaintance with you. It was only once my fortune to meet him, whether in body or in spirit it matters not. There were assembled about half a score of our northern lights, who had

amongst them, heaven knows how, a well known character of your country, Jedediah Cleishbotham. This worthy person having come to Edinburgh during the Christmas vacation, had become a sort of lion in the place, and was led in leash from house to house along with the guizzards, the stone eater, and other amusements of the season, which 'exhibit their unparalleled feats to private family parties, if required.' Amidst this company stood Mr Watt, the man whose genius discovered the means of multiplying our national resources to a degree perhaps even beyond his own stupendous powers of calculation and combination, bringing the treasures of the abyss to the summit of the earth; giving the feeble arm of man the momentum of an Afrite; commanding manufactures to arise, as the rod of the prophet produced water in the desert; affording the means of dispensing with that time and tide which wait for no man, and of sailing without that wind which defied the commands and threats of Xerxes himself. This potent commander of the elements—this abridger of time and space—this magician, whose cloudy machinery has produced a change on the world, the effects of which, extraordinary as they are, are perhaps only now beginning to be felt—was not only the most profound man of science, the most successful combiner of powers and calculator of numbers, as adapted to practical purposes—was not only one of the most generally well informed, but one of the best and kindest of human beings.

"There he stood, surrounded by the little band I have mentioned of northern literati, men not less tenacious, generally speaking, of their own fame and their own opinions than the national regiments are supposed to be jealous of the high character which they have gained upon service. Methinks I yet see and hear what I shall never see and hear again. In his eighty-fifth year, the alert, kind, benevolent old man had his attention at every one's question, his information at every one's command. His talents and fancy overflowed on every subject. One gentleman was a deep philologist; he talked with him on the origin of the alphabet as if he had been coeval with Cadmus: another was a celebrated critic; you would have said the old man had studied political economy and belles lettres all his life; of science it is unnecessary to speak, it was his own distinguished walk. And yet, captain Clutterbuck, when he spoke with your countryman, Jedediah Cleishbotham, you would have sworn he had been coeval with Clavarse and Burley, with the persecutors and persecuted, and could number every shot the dragoons had fired at the fugitive Covenanters. In fact, we discovered that no novel of the least celebrity escaped his perusal, and that the gifted man of science was as much addicted to the productions of your native country, (the land of Utopia aforesaid;) in other words, as shameless and obstinate a peruser of novels as if he had been a very milliner's apprentice of eighteen."

A highly characteristic statue of Watt, by Chantrey, adorns a Gothic monument reared to his memory, by his son, Mr James Watt, who died June 2, 1848, in his 80th year. Three other statues of him by Chantrey have been erected—one of them, of colossal size, stands in Westminster Abbey, and bears an elegant inscription by Lord Brougham. The countenance of this statue has been characterised as the personification of abstract thought. Glasgow possesses the other two—one of marble, in the museum of the university, and the other of bronze, in George's Square. His native town of Greenock has also rendered appropriate homage to his genius, by erecting not only his statue but a public library, which bears his name. An admirable Eloge on Watt and his inventions was pronounced before the National Institute of France by the late M. Arago. Lord Brougham has also celebrated his merits in his *Historical Account of the Composition of Water*, which is published as an appendix to the Eloge.

WATT, ROBERT, M.D., the author of the *BIBLIOTHECA BRITANNICA*, and of several medical treatises, was born in May, 1774. His father, John Watt, possessed a small farm, called Muirhead, in the parish of Stewarton, Ayrshire, which had belonged to the family for several generations, but which was sold shortly after his death, in 1810. Robert was the youngest of three sons; and, with his elder brothers, was employed, during his boyhood, in attending school, and in assisting his father in the management of the farm. His early life, it would seem, was subject to considerable hardships, and afforded few opportunities for cultivating his mind. In a letter of his now before us, written a short time before his death, we find the following notanda of his early years, prepared at the request of a friend. After recording his recollections of an English school, to which he was sent at the age of five or six, and where he learned to read, write, and count, the narrative proceeds:—

“About the age of thirteen, I became a ploughboy to a farmer in a neighbouring parish. After this, I was sometimes at home, and sometimes in the service of other people, till the age of seventeen. Before this age, I had begun to acquire a taste for reading, and spent a good deal of my time in that way. The books I read were such as I found about my father's house; among which I remember the “*Pilgrim's Progress*,” “*The Lives of Scotch Worthies*,” &c. A spirit for extending my knowledge of the country, and other things, had manifested itself early, in various forms. When very young, my great ambition was to be a chapman; and it was long before the sneers of my friends could drive me from this favourite project. It was the same spirit, and a wish of doing something for myself, that made me go into the service of other farmers. I saw more than I did at home, and I got money which I could call my own. My father's circumstances were very limited; but they were equal, with his own industry, to the bringing up of his family, and putting them to trades. This was his great wish. I remember he preferred a trade greatly to being farmer's servants.

“With a view to extend my knowledge of the country, I went with a party into Galloway, to build stone dykes. On getting there, however, the job which we had expected was abandoned, on account of some difference taking place between the proprietor of the land and the cultivator; and we went to the neighbourhood of Dumfries, where our employer had a contract for making part of the line of road from Sanquhar to Dumfries. During my short stay in Galloway, which was at Loch Fergus, in the vicinity of Kirkcudbright, I lodged in a house where I had an opportunity of reading some books, and saw occasionally a newspaper. This enlarged my views, increased the desire to see and learn more, and made me regret exceedingly my short stay in the place.

“On our arrival at Dumfries, we were boarded on the farm of Ellisland, in the possession of Robert Burns. The old house which he and his family had recently occupied became our temporary abode. This was only for a few days. I was lodged, for the rest of the summer, in a sort of old castle, called the *Isle*, from its having been at one time surrounded by the Nith. While at Ellisland, I formed the project of going up to England. This was to be accomplished by engaging as a drover of some of the droves of cattle that continually pass that way from Ireland and Scotland. My companions, however, disapproved of the project, and I gave it up.

“During the summer I spent in Dumfries-shire, I had frequent opportunities of seeing Burns: but cannot recollect of having formed any opinion of him, except a confused idea that he was an extraordinary character. While here, I read Burns's Poems; and, from an acquaintance with some of his relations, I

occasionally got from his library a reading of other works of the same kind. With these I used to retire into some of the concealed places on the banks of the Nith, and pass my leisure hours in reading, and occasionally tried my hand in writing rhymes myself. My business at this time consisted chiefly in driving stones, from a distance of two or three miles, to build bridges and sewers. This occupation gave me a further opportunity of perusing books, and although, from the desultory nature of my reading, I made no proficiency in any one thing, I acquired a sort of smattering knowledge of many, and a desire to learn more. From this period, indeed, I date the commencement of my literary pursuits.

"On my return home, the first use I made of the money I had saved was to purchase a copy of Bailey's Dictionary, and a copy of Burn's English grammar. With these I began to instruct myself in the principles of the English language, in the best way I could.

"At this time, my brother John, who had been in Glasgow for several years, following the business of a joiner and cabinet-maker, came home, with the design of beginning business for himself in the country. It was proposed that I should join him. This was very agreeable to me. I had, at that time, no views of anything higher; and it accorded well with the first bent of my mind, which was strongly inclined to mechanics. If of late all my spare hours had been devoted to reading, at an earlier period they had been equally devoted to mechanics. When very young, I had erected a turning lath in my father's barn; had procured planes, chisels, and a variety of other implements, which I could use with no small degree of dexterity.

"For some time my mind was wholly occupied with my new trade. I acquired considerable knowledge and facility in constructing most of the different implements used in husbandry, and could also do a little as a cabinet-maker. But I soon began to feel less and less interest in my new employment. My business came to be a repetition of the same thing, and lost all its charms of novelty and invention. The taste for reading, which I had brought from the south, though it had suffered some abatement, had not left me. I was occasionally poring over my dictionary and grammar, and other volumes that came in my way.

"At this time, a circumstance occurred which gave my mind an entirely new bent. My brother, while at Glasgow, had formed a very close intimacy with a student there. This young gentleman, during the vacation, came out to see my brother, and pass a few days in the country. From him I received marvellous accounts of what mighty things were to be learned, what wonders to be seen—about a university; and I imbibed an unquenchable desire to follow his course."

Here his own account of himself closes, and what we have to add must of course be deficient in that interest which attaches itself to all personal memoirs that are written with frankness and sincerity. The newly-imbibed desire of an academical education, to which he alludes, was not transient in its character. To prepare himself for its accomplishment, he laid aside as much of his earnings as he could spare, and applied himself, in the intervals of manual occupation, to the Latin and Greek languages. It was not long ere he thus qualified himself for beginning his course at the university. In 1793, at the age of eighteen, he matriculated in the Glasgow college, under professor Richardson; and, from that period, went regularly through the successive classes in the university, up to the year 1797. During the summer recesses, he supported himself by teaching, at first as a private tutor; but latterly he took up a small public school in the village of Symington, in Ayrshire. It was his first

determination to follow the clerical profession; but after he had attended two sessions at the Divinity Hall of Glasgow, he turned himself to the study of medicine; and, in order to have every advantage towards acquiring a proficiency in that branch of knowledge, he removed to Edinburgh, which has been so long celebrated as a medical school. Here he remained until he had gone through the usual studies of the science.

In 1799, he returned to Glasgow; and, after an examination by the faculty of Physicians and Surgeons there, he was found 'a fit and capable person to exercise the arts of surgery and pharmacy.' In the same year, he set up as surgeon in the town of Paisley; and soon began to attain great popularity in his profession, and to reap the reward of his talents and perseverance. In a short time he had engrossed so much practice, as to find it necessary to take in, as partner and assistant, Mr James Muir, who had been his fellow student at Edinburgh. This gentleman possessed considerable literary abilities, and was author of various pieces of a didactic character, which appeared in the periodicals of the day. On his death, which happened early in life, he left behind him, in manuscript, a volume of miscellaneous essays, and a poem, entitled "*Home*," consisting of 354 Spenserian stanzas. He was, in particular, greatly attached to painting, and exhausted much of his time and money upon that art. Dr Watt, on the other hand, was chiefly attached to that department of human inquiry which comes under the denomination of experimental philosophy—particularly chemistry, to which science he, for a considerable time, devoted his leisure hours almost exclusively. Yet, with these differences of pursuits, they lived in good harmony during a partnership of nearly ten years, each following his own course, and both holding the most respectable station of their profession in the place where they resided.

The period of Dr Watt's residence in Paisley, was perhaps the busiest in his life. He enjoyed, during it, a better state of health than he ever did afterwards; and had, besides, all the ardour and enterprise of one newly entered into a sphere for which he had long panted. The number and variety of manuscripts which he has left, sufficiently attest the persevering activity of his mind during this period. The most important, perhaps, of these is one in quarto, entitled "*An Abstract of Philosophical Conjectures; or an Attempt to Explain the Principal Phenomena of Light, Heat, and Cold, by a few simple and obvious Laws.*" This volume contains some curious and interesting experiments; but, of course, since the date of its composition (1805) many new lights have been thrown on the subjects it embraces, which, in a great measure, diminish its importance, and render its publication unadvisable. The only work which he ventured to publish while at Paisley, amid the many he composed and contemplated, was one, entitled "*Cases of Diabetes, Consumption, &c.; with Observations on the History and Treatment of Disease in general.*" This appeared in 1803, and excited considerable interest at the time among the learned of the profession. The method which the author adopted in treating Diabetes, was venesection, blistering, and an abstemious diet; and the various cases which he records, were considered at the time as tending to establish the propriety of this mode of treatment. At the end of the volume observations are given upon different diseases, as asthma, English cholera, colic, &c.; and these are also illustrated by cases which came under his own observation.

Soon after the publication of this volume, he felt a desire to remove to another quarter, and commence for himself on a higher scale than he had hitherto done. There was no place, however, which he had particularly fixed upon; and, before coming to any decision on this point, he determined to make a

tour through England, with the view of ascertaining whether that country might not afford an eligible spot. The journey would, at the same time, be favourable to his health, which was beginning to be impaired. In 1809, having furnished himself with letters of recommendation to many eminent in his profession throughout England, he went to London, by a circuitous route, embracing, on his way, most of the principal towns in the country. It does not appear, however, that he found any situation there agreeable to his wishes; for on his return home, after an absence of several months, he determined on settling at Glasgow: and, accordingly, in 1810, as soon as matters could properly be arranged, he removed to that city.

Previously to this, he had received from the university of Aberdeen the title of doctor in Medicine, and had been elected member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. He had also become pretty well known in the neighbourhood as an eminent practitioner, and had every reason to calculate upon success, whatever rank of his profession he should assume. He, therefore, commenced upon the highest scale, took a large house in Queen Street, and confined his profession to that of physician and accoucheur. In the same winter, he began his lectures on the theory and practice of medicine; and thus at once placed himself in that station of life for which he was so eminently qualified.

His success in Glasgow was complete and immediate. As a physician, he suddenly acquired a most respectable and extensive practice; and as a lecturer, his popularity was equally gratifying. The continental war, which was then raging, occasioned a great demand for surgeons, and increased the number of students much above the ordinary average. Dr. Watt's lecture-room was numerously attended; and he spared no pains or expense that might conduce to the advantage of his pupils. His lectures were formed on the best models, and from the most extensive sources, and his manner of delivering them was easy and engaging. During the first course, he read them from his MSS.; but he afterwards abandoned that method for extemporaneous delivery, assisting his memory merely by brief memorandums of the chief heads of discourse. He used to say, that this method, by keeping his mind in a state of activity, fatigued him less than the dull rehearsal of what lay before him. With a view to the advantage of his students, he formed a library of medical books, which was very complete and valuable, containing, besides all the popular works on medicine, many scarce and high-priced volumes. Of this library he published a catalogue, in 1812; to which he appended, "An Address to Medical Students on the best Method of prosecuting their Studies."

The "Bibliotheca Britannica" may be said to have originated with the formation of this library. Besides the catalogue of it, which was printed in the usual form, having the works arranged under their respective authors in alphabetical order, he drew out an index of the various *subjects* which the volumes embraced, making references to the place which each held upon the shelf; and thus brought before his eye, at one view, all the books in his possession that treated on any particular point. The utility of this index to himself and his students, soon turned his mind to the consideration of one upon a more comprehensive scale, that would embrace all the medical works which had been printed in the British dominions. This he immediately set about drawing out, and devoted much of his time to it. After he had nearly completed his object, he extended the original plan by introducing works on law, and latterly works on divinity and miscellaneous subjects. This more than tripled his labours; but it proportionably made them more useful. The extent of the design, however, was not yet completed. Hitherto, all foreign publications had been ex-

cluded from it; and, although a prospectus of the work had been published, containing very copious explanations and specimens, which might be supposed to have determined its nature and bounds, he resolved—when it was on the eve of going to press—to make the work still further useful, by introducing the more popular and important of foreign authors and their productions; embracing, at the same time, the various continental editions of the classics. Thus was another mighty addition made to the original plan; and it is thus that many of the most splendid monuments of human intellect and industry originate in trifling or small beginnings.

In 1813, he published a “Treatise on the History, Nature, and Treatment of Chincough.” He was led to investigate particularly this disease, by a severe visitation of it in his own family, in which four of his children were affected at the same time, the two eldest of whom died. The treatise contains not only the author’s own observation and experience, but also that of the best medical writers on the subject. To the volume is subjoined, “An Inquiry into the Relative Mortality of the principal Diseases of Children, and the Numbers who have died under Ten Years of Age, in Glasgow, during the last Thirty Years.” In this Inquiry, the author was at infinite pains in comparing and digesting the registers of the various burying-grounds in the city and suburbs; and of these he gives numerous tables, so arranged, as to enable the reader to draw some very important conclusions regarding the diseases of children, and their respective mortalities.

In 1814, he issued, anonymously, a small volume, entitled “Rules of Life, with Reflections on the Manners and Dispositions of Mankind.” The volume was published by Constable of Edinburgh, and consisted of a great number of apophthegms and short sentences, many of them original, and the others selected from the best English writers.

About this time, his health began rapidly to decline. From his youth he had been troubled with a stomachic disorder, which attacked him at times very severely, and kept him always under great restrictions in his diet and general regimen. The disease had gained ground with time, and perhaps was accelerated by the laborious life which he led. He, nevertheless, continued to struggle against it, maintained his usual good spirits, and went through the various arduous duties of his profession. His duties, indeed, had increased upon him. He had become a member of various literary and medical societies, of several of which he was president, and had been elected physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, and president of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. These two latter situations involved a great deal of trouble and attention. He held them both for two successive years; the former he was obliged to resign, on account of the state of his health, just at the period when a handsome compensation would have followed his holding it; the latter was resigned at the expiry of the usual term of its continuance.

Although he had long laboured under that painful disease which we have spoken of, and of which he eventually died, it was not until the year 1817, that he totally discontinued his professional pursuits. Nor would, perhaps, his active spirit have so soon submitted to this resignation, had not another employment engaged his attention. He had, by this time, brought his great work, the “*Bibliotheca Britannica*,” to a very considerable state of forwardness; had become interested in it, and anxious for its completion. He probably saw that, from the state of his health, the duration of his life must be but limited, and was desirous, while yet some strength and vigour remained, to place the work in such a state, that even his death would not prevent its publication. He retired, therefore, with his family, to a small country-house about two miles

from Glasgow, engaged several young men as amanuenses,² and devoted himself exclusively to the compilation.

In this literary seclusion, Dr Watt was for some time able to make great progress in his undertaking; but, though freed from worldly interruptions, he had to combat with a disease which was every day becoming more formidable, and which at last obliged him to discontinue all personal labour. He still, however, continued to oversee and direct his amanuenses; and nothing could exceed the kind attention which he paid to their comforts, even when suffering under his fatal malady. In his own retirement, he practised every method which his knowledge or experience could suggest to stem the progress of the disease, but they were all unavailing. In the hope that travel and a sea voyage might benefit him, he went in one of the Leith snacks to London, made a considerable tour through England, and returned more exhausted and emaciated than before. From that period, until his death, he was scarcely out of bed, but underwent, with wonderful fortitude, an afflicting and uninterrupted illness of several months. He died upon the 12th of March, 1819, aged only forty-five, and was interred in the Glasgow High Church burying ground.

Dr Watt's personal appearance was prepossessing. He was tall in stature, and in early life, before his health declined, robust. His countenance displayed great intelligence. In private life, he was universally esteemed. His character was formed on the strictest principles of morality, with which was blended a general urbanity of manners, that won at once the good-will of whoever he addressed. His conversation was communicative and engaging, apart equally from dulness and tediousness, as from what is quite as intolerable, a continued study at effect. In his habits, he was extremely regular and persevering. There was nothing from which he shrunk, if usefulness recommended it, and exertion made it attainable. This is particularly exemplified in his undertaking and executing such a work as the "*Bibliotheca Britannica*," the bare conception of which would, to an ordinary or less active mind, have been appalling; but which, beset as he was by professional duties and a daily increasing malady, he undertook and accomplished. But laborious as the work is—beyond even what the most intelligent reader can imagine—it is not alone to industry and perseverance that Dr Watt has a claim upon our notice. He was ingenious and original-minded in all his schemes; and while his great ambition was that his labours might be useful, he was careful that they should not interfere with those of others. His various works, both published and unpublished, bear this distinction. The whole plan of the "*Bibliotheca*" is *new*; and few compilations, of similar magnitude and variety, ever presented, in a first edition, a more complete design and execution. It is divided into two parts; the first part containing an alphabetical list of *authors*, to the amount of above forty thousand, and under each a chronological list of his works, their various editions, sizes, price, &c., and also of the papers he may have contributed to the more celebrated journals of art and science. This division differs little in its construction from that of a common catalogue, only that it is universal in its character, and in many instances gives short biographical notices of the author, and critical opinions of his works. It also gives most ample lists of the various editions of the Greek and Roman classics, &c., and, under the names of the early printers, lists of the various books which they printed. In the second part, all the titles of works recorded in the first part, and also anonymous works, are arranged alphabetically under their principal *subjects*. This part forms a minute index

² Among those so engaged were the late Mr William Motherwell, who distinguished himself by his beautiful ballads; and the late Mr Alexander Whitelaw, editor of "*The Casquet*," "*Republic of Letters*," &c.

to the first, and upon it the chief claim of the "*Bibliotheca*" to novelty and value rests; for it lays before the reader at a glance, a chronological list of all the works that have been published on any particular subject that he may wish to consult, with references to their respective authors, or with the publisher's name, if anonymous. While, in short, the first part forms a full and comprehensive catalogue of authors and their works, the second forms an equally complete and extensive encyclopedia of all manner of subjects on which books have been written. The utility of such a work, to the student and author in particular, must be obvious; for, with the facility with which he can ascertain in a dictionary the meaning of a word, can he here ascertain all that has been written on any branch of human knowledge. Whatever may be its omissions and inaccuracies, (and these were unavoidable in a compilation so extensive,) the *plan* of the work, we apprehend, cannot be improved; and, amid the numerous and laborious methods that have been offered to the public, for arranging libraries and catalogues, we are ignorant of any system that could be adopted, with greater advantage, both as to conveniency and completeness of reference, without at the same time affecting the elegant disposal of the books upon the shelves, than the one upon which the "*Bibliotheca Britannica*" is founded.

Dr Watt married, while in Paisley, Miss Burns, the daughter of a farmer in his father's neighbourhood, by whom he had nine children. At his death, the publication of the "*Bibliotheca*" devolved upon his two eldest sons, who devoted themselves to its completion with filial enthusiasm. They were both young men of the most promising abilities; and it is to be feared that their lives were shortened by the assiduity with which they applied themselves to the important charge that was so prematurely laid upon them. John, the elder of the two, died in 1821, at the early age of twenty; James, his brother, lived to see the work completed, but died in 1829, leaving behind him the deep regrets of all who knew and could appreciate his high character and brilliant talents.

The printing of the "*Bibliotheca*" was completed in 1824, in four large quarto volumes. The first division or portion of it was printed in Glasgow, and the second in Edinburgh. Messrs Archibald Constable and Company, of Edinburgh, purchased the whole for about £2,000, giving bills to that amount, but before any of the bills were honoured, the house failed, and thus the family of Dr Watt was prevented from receiving any benefit from a work to which so many sacrifices had been made, and upon which all their hopes depended.³

WAUGH, (Dr) ALEXANDER, an eminent divine of the United Secession church, was born on the 16th August, 1754, at East Gordon, in the parish of Gordon, Berwickshire, where his father followed the occupation of a farmer.

The subject of this memoir, who was devoted by his parents from his infancy to the church, was put to the parish school of Gordon, at which he

³ In connexion with the misfortunes attendant upon the work, we may mention here, in a note, one, fortunately in this country, of singular occurrence. Not long after Dr Watt's death, his country-house was broken into, in the middle of the night, by a band of ruffians, disguised with blackened faces, and armed with guns, swords, &c. While one party held their fire-arms over the unhappy inmates, another ransacked the house, and packed up everything valuable of a portable nature, which they carried off, and which were never recovered. They even took the rings from Mrs Watt's fingers. Among their ravages, they unfortunately laid their hands on a portion of the unprinted MS. of the "*Bibliotheca*," which they thrust into the fire, with the purpose of lighting the apartment. It took nearly a year's labour to remedy the destruction of this MS. Four of the robbers were afterwards taken, and executed for the crime at Glasgow, in 1820.

remained till he had attained his twelfth year, when he was removed to that of the neighbouring parish of Earlston, where the schoolmaster was celebrated as a teacher of Latin and Greek. Here he remained till 1770, when he entered the university of Edinburgh, leaving behind him at Earlston a reputation for talents and piety which, young as he then was, made a deep impression on all who knew him, and led them to anticipate for him the celebrity he afterwards attained as a preacher.

Mr Waugh continued at the university throughout four sessions prior to his entering on his theological studies, during which he attended the Latin, Greek, and Natural and Moral philosophy classes. He subsequently studied and acquired a competent knowledge of Hebrew. At the end of this period, he was examined by the presbytery regarding his proficiency in philosophy and the learned languages, and, having been found qualified, was admitted to the study of divinity, which he commenced in August, 1774, under the tuition of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington. Three years afterwards, he repaired to the university of Aberdeen, and attended for one session the lectures of Dr Beattie, professor of moral philosophy, and of Dr Campbell, professor of divinity in the Marischal college. In the following year, having been found amply qualified by prior attainments, he received his degree of M. A. On the completion of his studies, Mr Waugh was licensed to preach the gospel by the presbytery of Edinburgh at Dunse, June 28, 1779, and in two months afterwards was appointed by the presbytery to supply the Secession congregation of Wells-street, London, left vacant by the death of the Rev. Archibald Hall. On this occasion he remained in London for about ten weeks, when he returned to Scotland, and soon after received a unanimous call from the congregation of Newton, which was sustained by the presbytery at their meeting on December 21, 1779, and on the 30th of August, 1780, he was formally inducted to this charge.

The effects of the favourable impression, however, which he had made upon his hearers in London reached him, even in the retired and obscure situation in which he was now placed. A call to him from the Wells-street congregation was brought before the Synod which met at Edinburgh in May, 1781, but he was continued in Newton by a large majority. He himself had declined this call previously to its being brought before the Synod, and that for reasons which strikingly exhibit the benevolence of his disposition and the uprightness of his character. Amongst these were the unsettled state of his congregation, which was yet but in its infancy, the strong attachment which they had manifested to him, and the struggles which they had made for the settlement of a minister among them. But so desirous were the Wells-street congregation to secure his services, that, undeterred by the result of their first application, they forwarded another call to him, which was brought before the Synod on the 27th November, 1781, when it was again decided that he should continue at Newton. The second call, however, was followed by a third from the same congregation, and on this occasion the call was sustained by the presbytery on the 19th March, 1782. Mr Waugh received at the same time a call from the Bristo-street congregation of Edinburgh, but, owing to some informality, it did not come into direct competition with the former, and therefore was not discussed.

The presbytery of Edinburgh having been appointed to admit him to his new charge, this ceremony took place at Dalkeith on the 30th May, 1782; and in June following he set out for London, where he arrived on the 14th of that month, and immediately commenced his ministry in the Secession church, Wells-street. He soon extended the reputation, which he had already acquired, amongst the body of Christians in London to which he belonged, and became

exceedingly popular, at once by his singularly amiable character, his unwearied activity and unremitting zeal in the discharge of his ministerial duties, and by his fervid and impressive eloquence in the pulpit. He also took an active part in promoting the interests of the London Missionary and Bible societies; and even extended his benevolent exertions to many other religious and charitable institutions in the metropolis.

In 1815, he received the degree of doctor of Divinity from the Marischal college of Aberdeen, and was much gratified by this mark of distinction from that learned body, which he did not deem the less flattering, that, although he had studied there in his youth, he was, when it was conferred, almost an entire stranger, personally, to all of them. Previously to this, Dr Waugh had been seized with a serious illness, which had compelled him to revisit his native country, with the view of benefiting by the change of air. From this illness, he finally recovered; but, in May, 1823, he received an injury by the fall of some scaffolding, at the laying the foundation stone of the Orphan asylum at Clapton, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. He, however, continued to preach with unremitting zeal, till the beginning of 1827, when increasing infirmities, particularly an inability to make himself audible in the pulpit, rendered it necessary to procure an assistant to aid him in his labours, as well on his own account, as on account of the spiritual interests of his congregation. In this year, therefore, he was relieved from a large portion of the laborious duties which had before devolved upon him. But this excellent man was not destined long to enjoy the ease which his affectionate congregation had kindly secured for him. In the last week of November, he caught a severe cold, which finally terminated his useful and active life, on the 14th of December, 1827, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his ministry in London.

The remains of Dr Waugh were attended to the grave by an immense concourse of people, drawn together on that melancholy occasion, by the celebrity and popularity of his character; and his congregation, as a testimony of their affection for his memory, erected an elegant tablet of marble, with a suitable inscription, in their chapel in Wells-street. They also claimed it as a privilege to defray the funeral expenses. But they did much more than all this: they secured an annuity for his widow, and expressed their sympathy in her bereavement, by many other acts of generosity and kindness.

Dr Waugh, in all the relations of life, was, perhaps, one of the most amiable men that ever existed. His character was pure and spotless; his benevolence unbounded; his philanthropy unqualified. His manners were mild, gentle, and highly prepossessing, and his piety sincere and ardent, and wholly without any portion of that gloominess which has been erroneously believed to belong to heart-felt religious feeling. So far from this, he was lively, cheerful, and humorous, and delighted in innocent mirth and raillery. To those of his countrymen, who came to London, his house and table were ever open; and his advice, counsel, and assistance in furthering their views, always at their service. His kindness in this way, indeed, he carried to an almost blameable extent.

His talents, too, generally, and particularly as a preacher of the gospel, were of a very high order; and of this the London Missionary society, in common with others, was so sensible, that he was employed in frequent missions by that body, and always with eminent success. His whole life in London was one of continued and unremitting activity. He laboured early and late in the discharge of the important duties intrusted to him, and willingly undertook, at all times, in addition to these, any others which had from their nature a claim upon his exertions.

WEBSTER, (DR) ALEXANDER, an eminent divine and statistical inquirer, was born in Edinburgh about the year 1707, being the son of a clergyman of the same name, who, after suffering persecution under the reigns of the latter Stuarts, had become minister of the Tolbooth parish in that city, in which charge he acquired considerable celebrity as a preacher of the orthodox school. The subject of this memoir studied for the church, and, after being duly licensed, was ordained minister of Culross, where he soon became noted for his eloquence in the pulpit, and the laborious zeal with which he discharged every duty of his office. The congregation of the Tolbooth church, who had lost his father in the year 1720, formed the wish to have the son set over them, and accordingly, in 1737, he received an unanimous call from them, and thus was restored to the society of his native city. Previously to this event, he had obtained the affections of Miss Mary Erskine, a young lady of fortune, and nearly related to the family of Dundonald. He had been employed to bespeak the favour of Miss Erskine for a friend, and for this purpose paid frequent visits to Valleyfield, a house within the parish of Culross, where she resided. The suit of his friend he is said to have urged with equal eloquence and sincerity, but, whether his own figure and accomplishments, which were highly elegant, had prepossessed the young lady, or she despised a suitor who could not make love on his own account, his efforts were attended with no success. At length Miss Erskine naively remarked to him that, had he spoken as well for himself, he might have succeeded better. The hint was too obvious to be overlooked, and its promise too agreeable to be neglected. Webster spoke for himself, and was readily accepted. They were married a few days after his accession to the pulpit of the Tolbooth church. Though the reverend gentleman was thus prompted by the lady, it does not appear that he was in the least degree deficient in that affection which ought always to be the motive of the nuptial connexion. On the contrary, he seems, from some verses composed by himself upon the occasion, to have been one of the most ardent of lovers, and also one of the most eloquent of amatory poets; witness the following admirable stanza :—

When I see thee, I love thee, but hearing adore,
I wonder, and think you a woman no more;
Till, mad with admiring, I cannot contain,
And, kissing those lips, find you woman again.¹

With the fire of a profane poet, and the manners and accomplishments of a man of the world, Webster possessed the unction and fervour of a purely evangelical divine. The awakenings which occurred at Cambuslang, in consequence of the preaching of Whitefield, he attributed in a pamphlet, to the direct influence of the Holy Spirit; while the Seceders imputed the whole to sorcery and the direct influence of the devil. In the pulpit, both his matter and his manner gave the highest satisfaction. His voice was harmonious, his figure noble; the dignity of his look, the rapture of his eye, conveyed an electric impression of the fervent devotion which engrossed his soul. In prayer and in sacramental addresses, his manner was particularly noble and august. The diction of his sermons was strong and animated, rather than polished, and somewhat lowered to the capacity of his hearers, to whose situation in life he was always attentive. To the best qualities of a clergyman, he added an ardent, but enlightened zeal for the external interests of the church, a jealousy of corruption, a hatred of false politics and tyrannical

¹ Webster's Lines, Scottish Songs, ii. 337. This fine lyric seems to have been first published in the Scots Magazine, 1747.

measures, which sometimes exposed him to calumny from the guilty, but secured him unbounded esteem from all who could value independence of soul and integrity of heart. His sentiments respecting the affairs of both church and state were those of what may now be called an *old whig*; he stood upon the Revolution establishment, alike anxious to realize the advantages of that transaction, and to prevent further and needless or dangerous changes. "Nature," says an anonymous biographer, "had endowed him with strong faculties, which a very considerable share of learning had matured and improved. For extent of comprehension, depth of thinking, and accuracy in the profoundest researches, he stood unrivalled. In the knowledge of the world, and of human nature, he was a master. It is not wonderful that the best societies in the kingdom were perpetually anxious to possess a man, who knew how to soften the rancour of public theological contest with the liberality and manners of a gentleman. His address was engaging; his wit strong as his mind; his convivial powers, as they are called, enchanting. He had a constitutional strength against intoxication, which made it dangerous in most men to attempt bringing him to such a state: often, when they were unfit for sitting at table, he remained clear, regular, and unaffected."

Among the gifts of Dr Webster, was an extraordinary power of arithmetical calculation. This he began soon after his settlement in Edinburgh, to turn to account, in the formation, in company with Dr Robert Wallace, of the scheme for annuities to the widows of the Scottish clergy.² From an accurate list of the ministers of the church, and the members of the three southern universities, compared with the ordinary ratio of births, marriages, and deaths, in this and other kingdoms, he was enabled to fix on a series of rates to be paid annually by the members of these two departments, the amount of which rates was to supply a specific annuity to every widow, whose husband should be a contributor, and a proportional sum for the children of the same. To forward this scheme, he opened a correspondence with the different presbyteries in the kingdom; and, in the year 1742, received for it the sanction of the General Assembly of the church, which, after suitable examination, approved of the whole plan, with the exception of a few immaterial particulars. Accordingly, the several presbyteries and universities concurred with the Assembly, in petitioning parliament for an act, enabling them to raise and establish a fund, and obliging the ministers of the church, with the heads, principals, and masters of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, to pay annually, each according to his option, one of the following rates, viz., either £2. 12s. 6d. £3. 18s. 9d. £5. 5s., or £6. 11s. 3d., to be repaid in proportional annuities of £10, £15, £20, or £25, to their widows, or insimilar provisions of £100, £150, £200, or £250, to their children. The act was obtained in terms of the petition, (17 Geo. II.,) with liberty to employ the surplus of the annual payments and expenses in loans of £30 a-piece among the contributors, and to put out the remainder at interest, on proper security. A second act, amending the former, was procured in the 22nd year of the same reign, (1748,) regulating the several parts of the management, and granting liberty to raise the capital to £80,000, including the sums lent to contributors.³ The commencement of the fund is reckoned from the 25th of March, 1744, the whole trouble of planning, arranging, and collecting the revenues, and applying them to their immediate purposes, devolving on the original proposer, who, with a

² The ensuing account of the Clergy's Widows' Scheme is taken from a memoir of Dr Webster, in the Scots Magazine for 1802. Some further particulars are given in the article DR ROBERT WALLACE.

³ By this act, the university of Aberdeen was included on request.

patience and perseverance nearly equal to the extreme accuracy of his calculations, at last completed the scheme. In the year 1770, a new act of parliament, procured by advice of Dr Webster, prescribed the full form in which the fund is at present conducted. The loans granted to contributors were discontinued, as prejudicial to the parties concerned; liberty was granted to extend the capital to £100,000; the methods of recovering payments; the nomination and duties of trustees; the salaries of the collector and clerk; in short, the whole economy of the institution, were fixed and determined. A tax on the marriage of each contributor, amounting to one year's annual rate of his particular option; and, if he were forty years of age at his accession to his benefice, and had children, the sum of two years and a half of his rate, besides his ordinary dues and marriage, were added to the revenue. Further, a sum of half his usual rate was declared due to the fund, out of the *ann.*; or, in case of its not falling, out of his real or personal estate, on the death of a minister; and patrons were assessed in the sum of £3. 2s. for every half year's vacancy.

A report of the state of the fund was ordered to be made annually to the General Assembly by the trustees, and this afterwards to be printed. Dr Webster, in the year 1748, had finished a series of calculations, in which he not only ascertained the probable number of ministers that would die annually, of widows and children that would be left, of annuitants drawing whole or half annuities, and the medium of the annuities, and annual rates, but also the different annual states of the fund, in its progress to completing the capital stock. These calculations have approached the fact with astonishing precision. It would exceed our limits to insert the comparison between the calculations and the facts stated in the reports for the years 1762, 1765, and 1779, and printed again in those for 1790, &c.; but we shall only mention, that in the second of these statements, the comparison ran as follows: thirty ministers were calculated to die annually; *inde* for twenty-one years, from 1744 to 1765, the number by calculation is 630; the fact was 615, being only 15 of total difference. Twenty widows were calculated to be left annually in the forementioned period; there were left 411: the calculation was 420, and the difference 9. It was calculated, that six families of children, without a widow, would be left annually; the calculated amount for the above period, was 126, the fact 124, the difference 2. Four ministers or professors were calculated to die annually, without either widows or children; the calculated number for the first twenty-one years was 84, the fact was 82. The differences for that period, between the calculated mediums of the whole number of annuities, and of annual rates, compared each with its respective fact, was, for the number of annuities, 1s. 2d. 6-12ths, and for the rates 3s. 0d. 6-12ths. On the 22nd of November, 1799, in the fifty-sixth year of the fund, and the year which completed the capital stock fixed by act of parliament, Dr Webster's calculations, after having approached the truth for a long series of years with surprising accuracy, stood in the following manner: the stock and surplus for that year were £105,504, 2s. 11d. 3-12ths, and the calculated stock was £86,448, 12s. 10d. 8-12ths; consequently the difference was £19,055, 10s. 0d. 7-12ths.

In the year 1745, when the Highland army under prince Charles Stuart, took possession of Edinburgh, Dr Webster manifested the sincerity and firmness of his principles, as well as his general vigour of character, by remaining in the city, and exerting his eloquence to support the people in their attachment to the house of Hanover. On the day afterwards appointed by the General Assembly for a thanksgiving for the victory of Culloden, (June 23, 1746,) he preached a sermon, afterwards printed, in which he made a masterly

exposure of the new-born affection then manifested by the Tory party for the existing dynasty. This composition, however, is degraded by a panegyric on the infamous Cumberland, and a number of other allusions to secular persons and affairs, more consistent perhaps with the manners of the times, than with the immutable principles of taste in pulpit oratory. It has only the negative merit of being less fulsome in its respect for the hero of the day, than a similar composition by Dr Hugh Blair, which contained the following passage: "When the proper season was come for God to assert his own cause, then he raised up an illustrious deliverer, whom, for a blessing to his country, he had prepared against this time of need. Him he crowned with the graces of his right hand; to the conspicuous bravery of early youth, he added the conduct and wisdom which in others is the fruit only of long experience; and distinguished him with those qualities which render the man amiable, as well as the Hero great. He sent him forth to be the terror to his foes, and in the day of death, commanded the shields of angels to be spread around him." At the time when this and similar eulogia were in the course of being pronounced, the subject of them was wreaking upon a defeated party the vengeance of a mean and brutal mind. He whom the shields of angels had protected on a day when superior strength rendered danger impossible, was now battenning, with savage relish, on the fruits of an easy conquest. Cottages were smoking in every direction for a hundred miles around him, a prey to conflagration; their tenants, either murdered by cold steel, or starved to death; while the dictates of law, of humanity, of religion, were all alike unheard. Nor could these circumstances be unknown to the courtly preachers.

Dr Webster had now become a conspicuous public character, and the utility of his talents and dignity of his character were universally acknowledged. The comprehensiveness of his mind, and the accuracy of his calculating powers, rendered him a desirable and most useful ally in almost all kinds of schemes of public improvement, of which, at that period of nascent prosperity, a great number were set in motion. As the friend of provost Drummond, he aided much in the plan of the new town of Edinburgh, not scrupling even to devise plans for those public places of amusement which, as a minister of the church of Scotland, he was forbidden by public opinion to enter. He was a most zealous encourager of the plan of civilizing and propagating religion in the Highlands; and in 1753, published a sermon on that subject, entitled, "Zeal for the civil and religious Interests of Mankind Recommended." In the year 1755, he drew up, at the desire of lord president Dundas, for the information and service of government, an account of the number of people in Scotland; being the first attempt at a census ever made in the kingdom. His researches on this occasion were greatly facilitated by a general correspondence which he had opened in 1743, both with the clergy and laity, for the purposes of the Clergy's Widows' Fund. "Dr Webster's well-known character for accuracy," says Sir John Sinclair, "and the success with which his calculations have been uniformly attended, ought to satisfy every one that the report he drew up may be safely relied on." Yet, as the means employed on the occasion were only calculated to produce an approximation to correctness, it must not be disguised that the census of 1755, as it is sometimes called, was in no respect comparable to those which actual survey has since effected.

Our limits will not allow us, nor our information suffice, to enumerate all the charitable institutions, or projects of public welfare, temporary or lasting, in which Dr Webster was engaged. As he lived to an advanced age, he had the pleasure of seeing many of them arrive at their maturity of usefulness; the best reward, perhaps, which merit ever enjoys. He preserved, to the latest

period of his course, that activity both of mind and body, which distinguished him in the prime of life; and, ripe like a sheaf in autumn, obtained his frequent wish and prayer, an easy and peaceful death, after a very short indisposition, on Sunday, the 25th of January, 1784. By his lady, who died November 28, 1766, he had six sons and a daughter: one of the former, colonel Webster, fell in the American contest. The person of Dr Webster was, as already mentioned, dignified and commanding. In latter life, it became somewhat attenuated and bent. His countenance, of which a good memorial, by David Martin, is in the office of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, was of an elevated and striking cast, and highly characteristic of his mind. It is related to his honour, that the superior income which his wife's fortune placed at his command, was employed with unusual bountifulness in behalf of the poor, to whom he thus proved himself a practical as well as theoretic friend.

WEDDERBURN, ALEXANDER, first earl of Rosslyn, was born, February 13, 1733, at Chesterhall in East Lothian. His father was Peter Wedderburn, of Chesterhall, Esquire, an eminent advocate, who became in 1755, a judge of the court of session, with the designation of lord Chesterhall. The grandfather of the latter was Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, an eminent lawyer, and subsequently a judge, during the reign of Charles II.; of whom Sir George Mackenzie speaks in terms of the highest panegyric, in his *Characters of Scottish Lawyers*.¹ Sir Peter was descended from an old landed family in Forfarshire, which had produced several learned persons of considerable eminence.

The subject of this memoir was bred to the profession in which his father and great-grandfather had so highly distinguished themselves; and so soon were his natural and acquired powers brought into exercise, that he was admitted to the bar at the unusually early age of nineteen. He was rapidly gaining ground as a junior counsel, when an accident put a sudden stop to his practice in his native courts. He had gained the cause of a client in opposition to the celebrated Lockhart, when the defeated veteran, unable to conceal his chagrin, took occasion from something in the manner of Mr Wedderburn, to call him "a presumptuous boy." The sarcastic severity of the young barrister's reply drew upon him so illiberal a rebuke from one of the judges, that he immediately unrobed, and, bowing to the court, declared that he would never more plead where he was subjected to insult, but would seek a wider field for his professional exertions. He accordingly removed to London, in May, 1753, and enrolled himself a member of the Inner Temple. A love of letters which distinguished him at this early period of life, placed him, (1754,) in the chair at the first meeting of a literary society, of which Hume, Smith, and other eminent men, greatly his seniors, were members. Professional pursuits, however, left him little leisure for the exercise of his pen; which is to be the more regretted, as the few specimens of his composition which have reached us, display a distinctness of conception, and a nervous precision of language, such as might have secured the public approbation for much more elaborate efforts. It is related, to his honour, that he retained to the close of his life, amidst the dignities and cares of his elevated station, a most affectionate attachment to all the literary friends of his youth.

Mr Wedderburn was called to the English bar in 1757, and became a bencher of Lincoln's Inn in 1763. He early acquired considerable reputation

¹ "Wedderburnus morum probitate iudices, iudices clienti conciliabat, dicendique suavitate eos corrumpere potuisset si voluisset; nihil autem ille in facto nisi quod verum, nec in jure nisi quod justum, pathetice, urgebat; Ciceronis lectioni semper incumbibat; unde illi dicendi genus uniforme et flexanimum; ex junioribus tamen nullum illum eloquium decorabat, famaue fugientem prosequabatur."

and practice, which he greatly increased by becoming the advocate of lord Clive, in whose cause he was triumphantly successful. He pleaded on the great Douglas cause in 1768-9, when his acute reasoning, his deep reading, and his irresistible eloquence, attracted the favourable notice of lord Camden, and secured him ever after the protection and friendship of lords Bute and Mansfield. If the squibs of his political opponents in after life are to be trusted, his endeavours at the commencement of his career to forget his national accent were not very successful; while his friends asserted, perhaps truly, that he only retained enough of it to give increased effect to his oratory.

After having been called to the degree of sergeant-at-law, with the rank of king's counsel, he was promoted in January 1771, to the office of solicitor-general, and in June, 1773, to that of attorney-general: the duties of these posts he is said to have discharged with a mildness and moderation which procured him universal approbation; though his inveterate hostility to Franklin, and the overwhelming bitterness of his language before the privy council in 1774, are justly held to detract considerably from his merit. Mr Wedderburn first sat in parliament for the Inverary district of burghs, and in 1774, being chosen simultaneously for Castle Rising and Oakhampton, made his election for the latter; in 1778, he was elected for Bishop's Castle. Throughout his career in the house of commons, he was a powerful support to the ministry of lord North, not only by his eloquence, but by the great extent of his legal, jurisprudential, and parliamentary knowledge. His merits as a statesman are of course estimated very differently by contemporary party writers. Churchill has embalmed him in the well-known quatrain:—

“ Mute at the bar, and in the senate loud,
Dull 'mongst the dullest, proudest of the proud,
A pert, prim prater, of the northern race,
Guilt in his heart, and famine in his face.”

Yet even Junius has allowed that his character was respected, and that he possessed the esteem of society. Sir Egerton Bridges says: “ Lord Rosslyn appeared to be a man of subtle and plausible, rather than solid talents. His ambition was great, and his desire of office unlimited. He could argue with great ingenuity on either side, so that it was difficult to anticipate his future by his past opinions. These qualities made him a valuable partizan, and an useful and efficient member of any administration.” One public service of high value is always allowed to Mr Wedderburn. During the celebrated metropolitan riots in 1780, when the municipal power had proved so inadequate to the occasion, and the conflagration of the whole capital seemed to be threatened, a privy council was held by the king, who asked Mr Wedderburn for his official opinion. Mr Wedderburn stated in the most precise terms, that any such assemblage of depredators might be dispersed by military force, without waiting for forms or reading the riot act. “ Is that your declaration of the law as attorney-general?” asked the king; Mr Wedderburn answering directly in the affirmative, “ Then let it so be done,” replied his majesty; and the attorney-general immediately drew up the order by which the rioters were in a few hours dispersed, and the metropolis saved.

In June of the year last mentioned, Mr Wedderburn was called to the privy council, raised to the bench as lord chief justice of the court of Common Pleas, and to the peerage as lord Loughborough, baron of Loughborough in the county of Leicester. He had occasion in his judicial character to charge the jury sitting under the commission for the trial of the rioters; and it is allowed that the address was one of the finest specimens of reasoned eloquence that had

ever been delivered in that situation ; though some have objected that, both on this and on other occasions, his Scottish education inclined him too much towards the principles and modes of the civil law, inculcating greater latitude than by the precision of the English law was warranted.

In April, 1783, lord Loughborough united with his friend lord North in forming the celebrated Coalition ministry, in which he held the appointment of first commissioner for keeping the great seal ; but the reflections so justly levelled at many of the coalesced leaders did not apply to the " wary Wedderburn," for he had never uttered any opinion depreciatory of the talents or character of Mr Fox. From the breaking up of this ministry, his lordship remained out of office till the alarm of the French revolution separated the heterogeneous opposition which its remnants had formed for nearly ten years against Mr Pitt, under whom he accepted office, January 27, 1793, as lord high chancellor. He filled that important station for eight years, " not perhaps, says Brydges, " in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the suitors of his court, nor always with the highest degree of dignity as speaker of the upper house, but always with that pliancy, readiness, ingenuity, and knowledge, of which political leaders must have felt the convenience, and the public duly appreciated the talent. Yet his slender and flexible eloquence," continues this elegant writer, " his minuter person, and the comparative feebleness of his bodily organs, were by no means a match for the direct, sonorous, and energetic oratory, the powerful voice, dignified figure, and bold manner of Thurlow ; of whom he always seemed to stand in awe, and to whose superior judgment he often bowed against his will."

Lord Loughborough having been twice married without issue, and his first patent having been limited to heirs-male, a new patent was granted to him in 1795, by which his nephew Sir James Sinclair Erskine of Alva, was entitled to succeed him. On resigning the chancellorship in April, 1801, his lordship was created earl of Rosslyn, in the county of Mid Lothian, with the same remainders. He now retired from public life, but continued to be a frequent guest of his sovereign, who never ceased to regard him with the highest esteem. During the brief interval allowed to him between the theatre of public business and the grave, he paid a visit to Edinburgh, from which he had been habitually absent for nearly fifty years. With a feeling quite natural, perhaps, but yet hardly to be expected in one who had passed through so many of the more elevated of the artificial scenes of life, he caused himself to be carried in a chair to an obscure part of the Old Town, where he had resided during the most of his early years. He expressed a particular anxiety to know if a set of holes in the paved court before his father's house, which he had used for some youthful sport, continued in existence, and, on finding them still there, it is said that the aged statesman was moved almost to tears.² The earl of Rosslyn died at Bayles in Berkshire, January 3, 1805, and was interred in St Pauls cathedral. A portrait of his lordship, painted by Reynolds, was engraved by Bartolozzi. He wrote, in early life, critiques on Barclay's Greek grammar, the Decisions of the Supreme Court, and the Abridgment of the Public Statutes, which appeared in the Edinburgh Review, 1755. In 1793, he published a treatise on the management of prisons, and subsequently a treatise on the English poor laws, addressed to a clergyman in Yorkshire.

WEDDERBURN, JAMES, a poet of the sixteenth century, was born in Dundee about the year 1500, and is supposed to have belonged to the family which afterwards produced the earl of Rosslyn. He wrote three poems, beginning respectively with the following lines : " My love was falss and full of flatterie,"

² The house was situated in Gray's close, opposite to the ancient Mint.

"I think thir men are verie fals and vain," "O man, transformat and unnaturall," which are to be found with his name in the Bannatyne manuscript. Wedderburn appears to have early espoused the cause of the Reformation. In two dramatic compositions, a tragedy on the beheading of John the Baptist, and a comedy called "Dionysius the Tyrant," which were represented at Dundee about the year 1540, he exposed to ridicule and execration the corruptions of the church of Rome: both compositions, however, are now lost. It seems to have been before 1549, that he composed his celebrated "Buik of Godlie and Spiritual Sangs, collected out of sundrie parts of Scripture, wyth sundrie of uther Ballates, changed out of Profane Sangs for avoyding of Sinne and Harlotrie," as, though no edition of it before that of Smyth, in 1599, is in the hands of modern antiquaries, it seems to be denounced in a canon of the provincial council of the clergy held in 1549, and for certain is alluded to in a manuscript "Historie of the Kirk," dated in 1560. The "Buik of Godlie and Spiritual Sangs," though allowed to have been a most effectual instrument in expelling the old and planting the new religion, appears to modern taste as only a tissue of blasphemy and absurdity; the "sangs" being chiefly parodies of the coarse and indecent ballads of the common people, retaining the general structure and music, with much of the very language of the originals, and thus associating the most sacred and the most profane images.

That extraordinary book, the "Complaynt of Scotland," which appeared at St Andrews in 1548, without the name of either author or printer, has been ascribed to Wedderburn in the Harleian Catalogue; nor does it appear that the claims of Mackenzie for Sir James Inglis, or those of Leyden for Sir David Lindsay, can stand for a moment against the probabilities of this supposition. Inglis, it is hardly possible to deny, was murdered in 1530, eighteen years before the composition and publication of the Complaynt; and so little confidence had Leyden himself in the theory which he employed nearly three hundred pages to support, that he candidly confesses, at the close of his dissertation, "he scarcely expects his remarks to produce conviction."

Previously to the introduction of the version of Sternhold and Hopkins into Scotland, in 1564, the reformed congregations sang versions of twenty-one psalms, and paraphrases of the Lord's prayer, creed, and commandments, which had been executed for that purpose by the subject of this memoir. Two verses of his translation of the 137th psalm may be given as a specimen of his manner:—

At the rivirs of Babylon,
 Quhair we dwelt in captivitie,
 Quhen we rememberit on Syon,
 We weipit al full sorrowfullie.
 On the sauch tries our harpes we hang,
 Quhen thay requirit us an sang.
 They hald us into sic thraldome,
 They bad us sing sum psalme or hymme,
 That we in Syon sang sum tyme;
 To quhome we answerit full sune:

Nocht may we outler play or sing,
 The psalmis of our Lord sa sweet,
 Intil ane uncouth land or ring.¹
 My richt hand first sall that forleit,
 Or Jerusalem foryettin be;

¹ Kingdom.
³ L

Fast to my chaftis my tung salt be
 Claspit, or that I it forget.
 In my maist gladnes and my game,
 I sall remember Jerusalem,
 And all my hart upon it set.

Wedderburn is said to have ultimately gone to England, where he died in 1564-5.

WEDDERBURN, DAVID, a poet of considerable eminence, was born probably about the year 1570. Neither the place of his birth nor his parentage has been ascertained. Of the latter all that is known is that his mother was buried in St Nicholas church at Aberdeen in 1635.¹ It is highly probable from various circumstances that Wedderburn was educated in the city just named, and that he studied either in King's, or in the newer institution, Marischal college. In 1602, a vacancy occurred in the grammar-school of Aberdeen, by the death of Thomas Cargill, a grammarian of great reputation, and author of a treatise on the Gowrie conspiracy, now apparently lost. After an examination which lasted four days and extended to "oratorie, poessie, and composition in prois and verss," Wedderburn and Mr Thomas Reid, afterwards the well-known Latin secretary to James VI., were appointed "co-equall and conjunct masters" of the institution, with salaries of £40 yearly, and the quarterly fees of the scholars limited to ten shillings. They were inducted into this office by "delivery to thame of ane granmar buke."² Early in 1603, Wedderburn appeared before the town council, and stated, that being "urgit and burdenit be the lait provinciall assemblie of ministers, hauldin at this burghle, to accept upon him the function of ane minister of Goddis word, he wes resolvit to enter in the said function and obey God, calling him thairto be the said assemblie, and to leave and desert the said schooll," and concluded by craving leave to demit his office. This the council granted, and accompanied it with a testimonial of his faithful discharge of his duty; but, from what cause is now unknown, Wedderburn in the same year resumed his office. Before he had retained it twelve months, a complaint was lodged against him for making exorbitant claims on the scholars for fees, charity on Sundays, "candle and bent siller." These exactions were repressed by the magistrates, and in 1619, the quarterly fees were advanced from ten shillings to thirteen shillings and fourpence. Several years before this, in 1612, his scholars distinguished themselves by an act of mutiny of the boldest nature. In conjunction with the other scholars of the town, they took possession of the Song or Music school, and fortified themselves within it. Being armed with guns, hagbuts, and pistols, they boldly sallied forth as occasion required, and, attacking the houses of the citizens, broke open the doors and windows, "and maisterfullie away took their foulis, pultrie, breid, and vivaris." They also intercepted the supplies of fuel and provisions intended for the city markets, and continued in this state of open insurrection for two days, when they submitted to the authority of the magistrates, who punished the ringleaders by imprisonment, and banished twenty-one of their associates from all the city schools.³

In 1614, on the death of Gilbert Gray, principal of Marischal college, Wedderburn was appointed to teach "the high class" of the university, probably meaning the class then usually taught by the principal. In 1617, appeared the first of his publications, two poems on the king's visit to Scotland in that year, the one entitled, "Syneuphranterion in reditu Regis

¹ Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts of Aberdeen, 1634-1635.

² Council Register of Aberdeen, xl. 40, 410.

³ Council Register of Aberdeen, xlv. 885.

in Scotiam, 1617," and the other "Propempticon Caritatum Abredonensium." Both these poems (along with five others by the author,) were reprinted in the "Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum," and the last of these, composed at the request of the magistrates, procured him a donation of fifty merks. In 1619, he was appointed to teach a lesson in humanity once a-week to the students of Marischal college, from such authors as the magistrates might select, and also to compose in Latin, both in prose and verse, an essay on the common affairs of the city. For this he was to receive a salary of eighty merks per annum. In 1625, he wrote a poem on the death of James VI., which was printed at Aberdeen by Edward Raban, under the title of "Abredonia Atrata sub Obitu Serenissimi et Potentissimi Monarchæ Jacobi VI., Abredoniæ, 1625," 4to, pp. 12. This was dedicated "Ad Amplissimos Curia Abredonensis Primatus," and is now so rare as to be priced at two guineas. In 1630, he completed the writing of a new grammar for the use of his pupils, and received from the magistrates a reward of £100 Scots. It was found, however, that this work could "neither be prentit nor publisht for the use of young schollaris, whome the same concernis, unto the tyme the same resaiue approbatioune frome the lordis of counsall." In consequence of this, the magistrates "thocht meit and expedie, that the said Mr David address himself with the said wark to Edinburgh, in all convenient diligence, for procuring the saidis lordis thair approbatioun thairto, and ordanis the soume of ane hundreth pundis mœe to be debursit to him be the townis thesaurar for making of his expenss in the sudeward."⁴ It is unknown whether Wedderburn succeeded in procuring the license of the privy council; but if published no copy of this "gramer newly reformed" seems to have been preserved. In 1635, Wedderburn lost a friend and patron in the learned Patrick Forbes of Corse, bishop of Aberdeen; and among the many distinguished contributors to that prelate's "Funerals" we find the name of "David Wedderburnus Latinæ Scholæ in Urbe Nova Abredoniæ Præfectus." In 1640, he was so borne down by bodily infirmity that he was allowed to retire from the rectorship of the grammar-school on a pension of two hundred merks annually. The succeeding year he was called on to mourn the death of the celebrated Arthur Johnston, with whom he had lived in the closest friendship. One of the most beautiful of Johnston's minor poems was addressed "Ad Davidem Wedderburnum, amicum veterem," and drew forth a reply from Wedderburn of equal elegance. He thus speaks of their friendship:

"Noster talis amor; quem non (pia numina tester)
 Ulla procelloso turbine vincit hiems.
 Absit! ut Æacides palmam vel fidus Achates
 Hanc tibi præripiat, præripiatve mihi."

And Johnston dwells with much feeling on their early intimacy:—

"Aptius at vestræ, tu Wedderburne, senectæ
 Consulis, et, quæ fert dura senecta malis.
 Dum mihi te sisto, dum, quos simul egimus amicos,
 Mente puto, mutor, nec mihi sum quod eram.
 Æsona carminibus mutavit Colchis et herbis;
 Hæc juvenem tremulo de sene fecit ope.
 Colchidis in morem, veteri tu reddes amico,
 Qui pede veloci præteriere dies.
 Tempora dum ve colo tecum simul acta juventæ
 Me mihi vestiutens, ipsa juvenia redit.
 Colchida tu vincis: longo molimine Colchis
 Quod semel aura fuit, tu mihi sæpè facis."

⁴ Council Register, vol. 52. p. 8.

On the death of this valued friend, Wedderburn published six elegies, under the title of "*Sub obitum viri clarissimi et carissimi D. Arcturi Jonstoni, Medici Regii, Davidis Wedderburni Suspiria—Abredoniæ, 1641.*" This tract has since been reprinted by Lauder in his "*Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ,*" Edinburgh, 1731. Two years after the publication of his "*Suspiria*" he published, at Aberdeen, "*Meditationum Campestrium, seu Epigrammatum Moralium, Centuriæ duæ,*" and in the following year, 1644, appeared "*Centuria tertia.*" Both these works are from the press of Edward Raban, and are of great rarity. It is probable that they were the last compositions of their author which were printed in his lifetime, if we except some commendatory verses to a treatise "*De Arte conservando sanitatem,*" published at Aberdeen in 1651. Though the precise year of Wedderburn's death has escaped our researches, it may be fixed within a few years from this last date. In 1664, his brother, Alexander, gave to the world "*Persius Enucleatus, sive Commentarius exactissimus et maxime perspicuus in Persium, Poetarum omnium difficillimum, studio Davidis Wedderburni, Scoti Abredonensis—opus Posthumum; Amstelodami,*" 12mo. Besides the works now enumerated, Wedderburn was the author of a great number of commendatory poems and elegiac verses. His learning has been celebrated by Vossius, who styles him "*homo eruditissimus beneque promovens de studiis juventutis.*" His reputation is attested by the terms on which he lived with many of the most eminent persons of his time. His intimacy with Arthur Johnston and bishop Patrick Forbes, has been already mentioned; the well known secretary Reid was his coadjutor; and he counted among his friends Jameson the painter, William Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh, Gilbertus Jacobæus, Duncan Liddel, baron Dun, Ramsay, Ross, and many other illustrious individuals. His poems show in every line an intimate acquaintance with the classic writers, and are filled with happy allusions to ancient history and fable. His verses, indeed, are more to be admired for their learning than for their feeling; he has nowhere succeeded in reaching the highest flights of poetry, and has frequently sunk into common-place and bathos. But it is impossible to withhold admiration from the ease and elegance of his latinity, the epigrammatic vivacity of his style, or the riches of classical lore with which he has adorned his pages.

WELCH, John, a celebrated divine of the seventeenth century, was born about the year 1570. His father was a gentleman of considerable note in Nithsdale, where he possessed a pretty extensive and valuable estate called Collieston. The outset of Mr Welch's career was an extraordinary one, and presents one of the most striking and singular contrasts of conduct and disposition in one and the same person at different periods of life which can perhaps be found in the annals of biography.

This faithful and exemplary minister of the church (for he became both in an eminent degree) began the world by associating himself with a band of border thieves. While at school, he was remarkable for the unsteadiness of his habits, and for an utter disregard for the benefits of instruction and for the admonitions of his friends and preceptors. He was also in the practice of absenting himself, frequently and for long periods, from school, a habit in which he indulged until it finally terminated in his not only abandoning the latter entirely, but also his father's house, and betaking himself to the borders, where, as already noticed, he joined one of those numerous bands of freebooters with which those districts were then infested. Whether, however, it was that a better spirit came over the young prodigal, or that he found the life of a border marauder either not such as he had pictured it, or in itself not agreeable to him, he soon repented of the desperate step he had taken, and resolved on returning to his father's house.

In pursuance of this resolution he called, on his way homewards, on one of his aunts, who lived in Dumfries, with the view of making her a mediator between himself and his offended father, an office which she undertook and accomplished in the course of an accidental visit which young Welch's father paid her whilst his son was still under her roof. The former, however, had anticipated a very different issue to his son's profligate courses, for, on a sort of trial question being put to him by the young man's aunt, previously to her producing him, whether he had heard anything lately of John, he replied, "The first news I expect to hear of him is, that he is hanged for a thief." On the reconciliation with his father being effected, young Welch entreated him, with many protestations of future amendment, all of which he afterwards faithfully implemented, to send him to college. With this request his father complied, and the young convert gave him no reason to repent of his indulgence. He became a diligent student, and made such rapid progress in the learning of the times that he obtained a ministerial settlement at Selkirk before he had attained his twentieth year. His stay here, however, was but short, as, for some reason or another which has not been recorded, he seems to have been an object of dislike and jealousy both to the clergy and lay gentlemen of the district in which he resided. It is not improbable that his former life was recollected to his disadvantage, and that this was, at least in some measure, the cause of the enmity with which he was persecuted. But, whatever the cause was, it is certain that it is not to be found in his conduct, which was now exemplary, both in a moral and religious point of view. The latter, indeed, was of an extraordinary character. It was marked by an intensity and fervour, an unremitting and indefatigable zeal, which has been but rarely equalled in any other person, and never surpassed. He preached publicly once every day, prayed, besides, for seven or eight hours during the same period, and did not allow even the depth of the night to pass without witnessing the ardency and enthusiasm of his devotions. Every night, before going to bed, he threw a Scotch plaid above his bed-clothes, that, when he awoke to his midnight prayers, it might be in readiness to wrap around his shoulders. These devotional habits he commenced with his ministry at Selkirk, and continued to the end of his life. Finding his situation a very unpleasant one, Mr Welch readily obeyed a call which had been made to him from Kirkcudbright, and lost no time in removing thither. On this occasion a remarkable instance occurred of that unaccountable dislike with which he was viewed, and which neither his exemplary piety nor upright conduct seems to have been capable of diminishing. He could not find any one person in the whole town excepting one poor young man of the name of Ewart, who would lend him any assistance in transporting his furniture to his new destination. Shortly after his settlement at Kirkcudbright Mr Welch received a call from Ayr. This invitation he thought proper also to accept, and proceeded thither in 1590.

Some of the details of this period of Mr Welch's life afford a remarkably striking evidence of the then rude and barbarous state of the country. On his arrival at Ayr, so great was the aversion of the inhabitants to the ministerial character, and to the wholesome restraints which it ought always to impose, that he could find no one in the town who would let him have a house to live in, and he was thus compelled to avail himself of the hospitality of a merchant of the name of Stewart, who offered him the shelter of his roof. At this period, too, it appears that the streets of Ayr were constantly converted into scenes of the most sanguinary combats between factious parties, and so frequent and to such an extent was this murderous turbulence carried that no man could walk through the town with safety.

Among the first duties which Mr Welch imposed upon himself after his settlement at Ayr, was to correct this ruthless and ferocious spirit, and the method he took to accomplish his good work was a singular but, as it proved, effectual one. Regardless of the consequences to himself, he rushed in between the infuriated combatants, wholly unarmed, and no otherwise protected from any accidental stroke of their weapons than by a steel cap which he previously placed on his head on such occasions. When he had, by this fearless and determined proceeding, succeeded in staying the strife, he ordered a table to be covered in the street, and prevailed upon the hostile parties to sit down and eat and drink together, and to profess themselves friends. This ceremony he concluded with prayer and a psalm, in which all joined. The novelty of this proceeding, the intrepidity of its originator, and above all the kind and christian-like spirit which it breathed, soon had the most beneficial effects. The evil which Mr Welch thus aimed at correcting gradually disappeared, and he himself was received into high favour by the inhabitants of the town, who now began to reverence his piety and respect his worth. While in Ayr Mr Welch not only adhered to the arduous course of devotional exercise which he had laid down for himself at Selkirk, but increased its severity, by adopting a practice of spending whole nights in prayer in the church of Ayr, which was situated at some distance from the town, and to which he was in the habit of repairing alone for this pious purpose. Among the other objects of pastoral solicitude which particularly engaged Mr Welch's attention during his ministry at Ayr, was the profanation of the Sabbath, one of the most prominent sins of the place. This he also succeeded in remedying to a great extent by a similarly judicious conduct with that he observed in the case of feuds and quarrels. This career of usefulness Mr Welch pursued with unwearied diligence and unabated zeal till the year 1605, when on an attempt on the part of the king (James VI.) to suppress General Assemblies, and on that of the clergy to maintain them, he, with several more of his brethren, was thrown into prison for holding a diet, in opposition to the wishes of the court of delegates of syneds, of which Mr Welch was one, at Aberdeen. For this offence they were summoned before the privy council, but, declining the jurisdiction of that court in their particular case, they were indicted to stand trial for high treason at Linlithgow. By a series of the most unjust, illegal, and arbitrary proceedings on the part of the officers of the crown, a verdict of guilty was obtained against them, and they were sentenced to suffer the death of traitors. The conduct of the wives of the condemned clergymen, and amongst those of Mrs Welch in particular, on this melancholy occasion, was worthy of the brightest page in Spartan story. They left their families and hastened to Linlithgow to be present at the trial of their husbands, that they might share in their joy if the result was favourable, and that they might inspire them with courage if it were otherwise. On being informed of the sentence of the court, "these heroines," says Dr McCrie, "instead of lamenting their fate, praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand to the cause of their Master, adding, that, like Him, they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night." If spirit be hereditary, this magnanimous conduct, on the part of Mrs Welch at any rate, may be considered accounted for by the circumstance of her having been the daughter of John Knox. She was the third daughter of that celebrated person. Either deterred by the popularity of the prisoners, and the cause for which they suffered, or satisfied with the power which the sentence of the court had given him over their persons, James, instead of bringing that sentence to a fatal issue, contented himself with commuting it into banishment; and on the 7th November, 1606, Mr Welch, accompanied by his wife,

and his associates in misfortune, sailed from Leith for France, after an imprisonment of many months' duration in the castles of Edinburgh and Blackness. So great was the public sympathy for these persecuted men, that, though the hour of their embarkation was as early as two o'clock of the morning, and that in the depth of winter, they were attended by a great number of persons who came to bid them an affectionate farewell. The parting of the expatriated men and their friends was solemn and characteristic, prayers were said, and a psalm, (the 23rd,) in which all who were present joined, was sung.

On his arrival in France, Mr Welch immediately commenced the study of the language of the country, and such was his extraordinary diligence, and his anxiety to make himself again useful, that he acquired, in the short space of fourteen weeks, such a knowledge of French as enabled him to preach in it. This attainment was soon after followed by a call to the ministry from a protestant congregation at Nerac. Here, however, he remained but for a short period, being translated to St Jean D'Angely, a fortified town in Lower Charente, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his stay in France, which was upwards of fourteen years.

While living at St Jean D'Angely, Mr Welch evinced, on an occasion which called for it, a degree of courage in the field not less remarkable than that which distinguished him in the pulpit. A war having broken out between Louis XIII. and his protestant subjects, the former besieged the town in person. During the siege Mr Welch not only exhorted the inhabitants to make a determined and vigorous resistance, but took his place upon the walls of the city, and assisted in serving the guns. When the town capitulated, which it finally did, in terms of a treaty entered into with the besiegers, the French monarch ordered that Mr Welch, who, with characteristic intrepidity, continued to preach, to be brought before him. The messenger whom he despatched for this purpose was the duke D'Espéron, who entered the church in which Mr Welch was at the moment preaching, with a party of soldiers to take him from the pulpit. On perceiving the duke enter, Mr Welch called out to him in a loud and authoritative tone to sit down and hear the word of God. The duke instinctively or unconsciously obeyed, and not only quietly awaited the conclusion of the sermon, but listened to it throughout with the greatest attention, and afterwards declared himself to have been much edified by it. On being brought into the presence of the king, the latter angrily demanded of Mr Welch how he had dared to preach, since it was contrary to the laws of the kingdom for such as he to officiate in places where the court resided. Mr Welch's reply was bold and characteristic. "Sir," he said, "if your majesty knew what I preached, you would not only come and hear it yourself, but make all France hear it; for I preach not as those men you used to hear. First, I preach that you must be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own, (and I am sure your conscience tells you that your good works will never merit heaven;) next, I preach, that, as you are king of France, there is no man on earth above you; but these men whom you hear, subject you to the pope of Rome, which I will never do." This last remark was so exceedingly gratifying to the king, that it had the effect not only of disarming him of his wrath, but induced him to receive the speaker instantly into his royal favour. "Very well," replied Louis, "you shall be my minister," and to these expressions of goodwill he added an assurance of his protection, a pledge which he afterwards amply redeemed. When St Jean D'Angely was again besieged by the French monarch in 1621, he ordered the captain of his guard to protect the house and property of "his minister," and afterwards supplied him with horses and wagons

to transport his family to Rochelle, whither he removed on the capture of the town.

Mr Welch was at this period seized with an illness which his physicians declared could be removed only by his returning to breathe the air of his native country. Under these circumstances he ventured, in 1622, to come to London, hoping that when there he should be able to obtain the king's permission to proceed to Scotland. This request, however, James, dreading Welch's influence, absolutely refused. Among those, and they were many, who interceded with the king in behalf of the dying divine, was his wife. On obtaining access to James, the following extraordinary, but highly characteristic conversation, as recorded by Dr M'Crie, in his *Life of Knox*, took place between the intrepid daughter of the stern reformer and the eccentric monarch of England: His majesty asked her, who was her father. She replied "Mr Knox." "Knox and Welch," exclaimed he, "the devil never made such a match as that." "Its right like, sir," said she, "for we never speired his advice." He asked her, how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the king, lifting up both his hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had never bricked my three kingdoms in peace." She again urged her request that he would give her husband his native air. "Give him his native air!" replied the king. "Give him the devil!" a morsel which James had often in his mouth. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last, that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs Welch, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, "Please your majesty, I'd rather kep his head there."

Although James would not permit Mr Welch to return to Scotland, he was prevailed upon by the friends of the latter, though not without much impotunity, to allow him to preach in London. They had entreated this as an alternative in the event of his refusing him permission to return to his native country, and they eventually succeeded in obtaining from James a reluctant consent. On learning that this indulgence had been granted him, the dying preacher, for his complaint was rapidly gaining ground upon him, hastened to avail himself of it. He appeared once more in the pulpit, preached a long and pathetic sermon; but it was his last. When he had concluded his discourse he returned to his lodging, and in two hours afterwards expired, in the 53d year of his age. It is said that Mr Welch's death was occasioned by an ossification of the limbs, brought on by much kneeling in his frequent, and long protracted devotional exercises. Like many of the eminently pious and well-meaning men of the times in which he lived, Mr Welch laid claim to the gift of prescience, and his *Life*, as it appears in the "*Scots Worthies*," compiled by Howie of Lochgoin, presents a number of instances of the successful exercise of this gift, but no one *now* who has any sincere respect for the memory of such truly worthy persons and sincere Christians as Mr Welch, can feel much gratified by seeing him invested, by a mistaken veneration, with an attribute which does not belong to humanity.

WELLWOOD, SIR HENRY MONCRIEFF, BARONET, D.D., an eminent divine, was born at Blackford, near Stirling, in February, 1750. He was the eldest son of Sir William Moncrieff, Bart., minister of the parish just named; a man of singular merits and virtues, and who possessed an influence over his parishioners, and in the surrounding country, which these alone could bestow.

The subject of this memoir was destined from an early age, as well by his

own choice, as the desire of his father, to the clerical profession; and, with this view, he repaired to the university of Glasgow, after completing an initiatory course of education at the parochial school of Blackford. Having given a due attendance on the literary and philosophical classes in the university, Sir Henry entered on the study of theology, in which he made a progress that raised the highest hopes of his future eminence; and these hopes were not disappointed. About this period, he had the misfortune to lose his venerable father, who sank into a premature grave: but the esteem in which that good man was held did not die with him. All those who had any influence in the appointment of a successor to his charge, unanimously resolved that his son should be that person; and, further, that, as he had not yet attained the age at which he could, according to the rules of the church, be licensed and ordained, the vacancy should be supplied by an assistant, until that period arrived. On the completion of this arrangement, which took place in 1768, Sir Henry removed to Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies to their close, distinguishing himself among his fellow students by the superiority of his talents, and continuing to inspire his friends with the most sanguine hopes of the success of his future ministry.

Having attained the prescribed age, he was licensed to preach the gospel, although he had not yet completed the required term of attendance at the divinity hall; and immediately after, was ordained, 15th August, 1771, to the church of his native parish. The singular talents of the young preacher, however, did not permit of his remaining long in so obscure a charge as that of Blackford. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the extensive and populous parish of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, Sir Henry Moncrieff, whose personal worth and extraordinary abilities were already known and appreciated in the capital, was called upon to supply it. Into this charge he was inducted in October, 1775, about four years after his ordination and settlement at Blackford. The subsequent life of Sir Henry Moncrieff, though remarkable for an exemplary and unwearied diligence in the discharge of the laborious duties of his office, and for a continued display, on his part, of every excellence and virtue which can adorn the human character, presents little of which the biographer can avail himself. Holding on the "even tenor of his way," and neither turning to the right nor to the left, but still anxiously promoting the interests of religion by his eloquence, and of morality by his example, Sir Henry Moncrieff was one of those great and good men, who are content to confine the exercise of their talents—of talents which, if they had been directed by ambition, might have procured them a more dazzling fame—to the immediate duties of their calling; and who think that the high intellectual powers with which they have been gifted, cannot be more usefully, or more appropriately employed, than in extending the knowledge and promoting the happiness of those within the immediate sphere of their personal influence. The talents of Sir Henry Moncrieff could easily have procured him, had he chosen it, a wider and a more brilliant reputation than is now attached to his name; but he conceived, and he did so justly and wisely, that the end for which these talents were bestowed on him, was fully and amply attained, by devoting them to the task of instructing those over whose spiritual welfare Providence had called him to preside; and who, as he well knew, must have lost in proportion to what others might have gained by a dissipation of his exertions.

It was not inconsistent, however, with his duties as a minister of the establishment, that he should take an active interest in the business of the church courts. At the period when he entered public life, the moderate party, headed by Drs Robertson and Drysdale, had attained a complete and hardly resisted

supremacy in the Scottish church. Sir Henry, however, instead of joining with a party with which his secular rank might have been expected to inspire him with many sympathies, took a decided part on the opposite course; and soon rose, by the force of talent and character, assisted, but in no great degree, by his rank, to the situation of a leader in the more zealous party, over whom he ultimately acquired a control, not more useful to their interests than, as the result of a tacit acknowledgment of his deserts, it was honourable to himself. In 1780, he was proposed as moderator of the General Assembly, in opposition to Dr Spens, of Wemyss; the competition was keen, Dr Spens being elected by a majority of only six votes: but in 1785, Sir Henry, being again a member of the General Assembly, was unanimously chosen moderator. Dr Andrew Thomson, to whom in latter life he yielded much of his influence in the church, has thus spoken, in his funeral sermon, of the public character of Sir Henry:—

“It was in early life that he began to take an active part in the government of our national church. The principles of ecclesiastical polity, which he adopted as soon as he entered on his public career, he adopted from full and firm conviction; and he maintained, and cherished, and avowed them to the very last. They were the very same principles for which our forefathers had contended so nobly, which they at length succeeded in establishing, and which they bequeathed as a sacred and blood-bought legacy to their descendants. But though that circumstance gave a deep and solemn interest to them in his regard, he was attached to them on more rational and enlightened grounds. He viewed them as founded on the word of God, as essential to the rights and liberties of the Christian people, as identified with the prosperity of genuine religion, and with the real welfare and efficiency of the establishment. And, therefore, he embraced every opportunity of inculcating and upholding them; resisted all the attempts that were made to discredit them in theory, or to violate them in practice; rejoiced when they obtained even a partial triumph over the opposition they had to encounter; and clung to them, and struggled for them, long after they were borne down by a system of force and oppression; and when, instead of the numerous and determined host that fought by his side in happier times, few and feeble, comparatively, were those who seconded his manly efforts, and held fast their own confidence: but he lived to see a better spirit returning. This revival cheered and consoled him. Fervently did he long and pray for its continuance and its spread. Nor did he neglect to employ his influence, in order to introduce pastors who would give themselves conscientiously to their Master’s work, preaching to their flocks the truth as it is in Jesus, watching for souls, as those that must give an account; and faithfully and fearlessly performing all the duties incumbent on them, both as ministers, and as rulers in the church.”

Sir Henry made a more successful opposition, especially towards the end of his life, to the dominant faction in the church, than had been made for upwards of half a century before; and, in more instances than one, he left their leader, principal Hill, in a minority: but it was, in the latter respect, adverted to by Dr A. Thomson, that his efforts were most eminently useful, and were followed with the most beneficial effect. To his efforts, indeed, are to be ascribed, in a great measure, the introduction of evangelical doctrines into parts of the country from which they had for many years been excluded, the preponderance of evangelical ministers and elders in the church courts, and the consequent ascendancy of the popular party. Young men of piety and promise were always sure of his assistance and encouragement. In this respect many had reason to bless him; while the church at

large has had reason to rejoice in his fidelity and wisdom. In the management of the Widows' Fund, established by act of parliament in the year 1744, Sir Henry took a deep interest, and acted as its collector for upwards of forty years. He was also one of the original members of the society of the Sons of the Clergy, and, by his influence and his exertions, contributed largely to its success. He was, besides, a warm friend to every reasonably adjusted scheme, that had for its object the amelioration of the moral and physical condition of mankind. In the year 1826, he was bereaved of his wife, (Susan, daughter to Mr James Robertson Barclay, of Keavil, W.S., to whom he had been married in 1773, and who was his cousin;) while his own health, which had been generally good, was also undergoing a decline. In the month of August of the following year, 1827, Sir Henry himself died, after an illness of considerable duration. At the time of his death, he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his ministry.

The personal character of Sir Henry Moncrieff was, in the highest degree, respectable, and his conduct, in every relation of life, most exemplary. He had thoroughly studied the whole scheme of the gospel; and, from full and deliberate conviction, as well as from its experimental application to his own personal need, he threw himself, without pretension and without reserve, upon the peculiar doctrines of the church to which he belonged, as those which could alone insure his eternal interests.

In his ministerial capacity, he but rarely indulged in what is termed the pathetic; yet there was often, particularly towards the close of his life, a tenderness in his modes of expression, as well as in the accents of his voice, which came home to the heart, with the energy of pathos itself. As an author, Sir Henry was well known, and highly esteemed. The works which give him a claim to this title, are, "A Life of Dr John Erskine;" three volumes of sermons, and a small work on the constitution of the church of Scotland, which, as well as one of the volumes of sermons, was published posthumously. The first is an interesting record of the life of a most excellent and public-spirited minister, and contains much valuable information respecting ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. The sermons abound with luminous expositions and practical applications of divine truth. All of these publications were well received by the public. That Sir Henry was admitted by all parties to be no ordinary man, is sufficiently evinced by the following character of him, drawn up at the unanimous request of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, by the Rev. Dr Macgill, professor of divinity in the college of Glasgow, their moderator at the time, and inserted in the records of court; an honour which has been bestowed on but few individuals in the Scottish church. Having enjoyed the friendship and the confidence of Sir Henry from his earliest years, as well as from kindred habits of thought and feeling, no man could be better qualified than the reverend doctor to do justice to the subject.

"The Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, whose death and character have been brought before the Assembly, was elected to be the general collector of the fund for the widows and children of this church, in 1784, and continued to discharge, till his death, the duties of that important office. During the long period of forty-three years, he received annually the thanks of the General Assembly, for the able, faithful, and affectionate manner in which he fulfilled the trust reposed in him; and never were thanks bestowed more deservedly, and with more full or heartfelt approbation. In the discharge of the difficult, and often delicate duties of his office, he united the highest honour and fidelity, with the most consummate prudence, and the greatest tenderness and forbearance; so that it is stated of him, by those who were connected with him

in the trust, and who long and intimately knew him, that his vigour of mind, and the caution with which he deliberated, enabled him to form such decided opinions, as saved them in many cases from much perplexity; that even the minutest details of the management were never regarded by him as unworthy the attention of his powerful mind; that for the period during which he administered the concerns of the fund, not a single instance occurred of any embarrassment being occasioned to them, by any mistake or inadvertency on his part, and on the other hand, so great was the confidence reposed in him, that they never heard of a single complaint of severity in the exercise of the powers with which he was intrusted.

“But while the General Assembly thus gratefully record their sense of the public services of Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood in that office to which their attention has been specially directed, it is impossible not also to remember what he was in a higher character, and in the discharge of higher duties. Endowed with great talents for the business of life, he was fitted for rising to high distinction in the secular departments of society; but with a strong attachment, which increased with his years, he devoted himself to the ministry of Christ in the church of Scotland. The church of Scotland was dear to him from his earliest predilections, and these were confirmed by his maturest judgments and long experience and observation of human life. The character of a minister of the gospel he valued above all others, and though of too just an understanding not to estimate the advantages of his hereditary rank, he never forgot, or allowed others to forget, that he held a sacred character, by which it was of chief importance that he should be known and considered. The doctrines of Christ were the objects of his firmest faith and warmest attachment, and to preach them to his people he considered to be his first duty, and highest honour. With a peculiar energy and power he presented them to the minds of his hearers, and made them the principles from which he enforced all the virtues and graces of a holy life; while with fearlessness and freedom, and great discernment of human character, he unfolded and exposed the besetting sins of men of every condition. As a member of the General Assembly he will long be remembered. His knowledge of business, his strong and masculine eloquence, the distinctness and vigour with which he went forward to his subject, and the simplicity and fire with which he stated his sentiments, secured to him at all times the respectful attention of men of every description. Equally distant from flattery and personal invective, he spoke with the freedom of an independent but well regulated mind; nor amidst the collision of sentiment and warmth of discussion did he ever forget the spirit which should be maintained in an assembly met in the name of Christ and to promote his kingdom. His life was devoted to active and general usefulness. He had no taste for frivolous pursuits, and while his judgment led him to devote himself chiefly to those peculiar departments of duty in which he believed he would be most useful, he entered with deep interest into every scheme of public utility, and rejoiced in the success of every well directed plan for promoting the cause of religion and humanity. The young and the friendless he delighted to take under his protection; and as his influence in society was great, so many were the individuals in every department of life, besides those who were within the reach of his private friends, whom he benefited by his active services and by the wisdom of his counsels.”

To this eulogium may be added the following estimate of Sir H. Moncrieff's public character, by the late lord Cockburn, in the *Life of Francis Jeffrey*:—
 “This eminent person was not merely distinguished among his brethren of the church of Scotland, all of whom leant upon him, but was in other respects one of

the most remarkable and admirable men of his age. Small gray eyes, an aquiline nose, vigorous lips, a noble head, and the air of a plain hereditary gentleman, marked the outward man. The prominent qualities of his mind were, strong integrity and nervous sense. There never was a sounder understanding. Many men were more learned, many more cultivated, and some more able. But who could match him in sagacity and mental force? The opinions of Sir Harry Moncrieff might at any time have been adopted with perfect safety, without knowing more about them than that they were his. And he was so experienced in the conduct of affairs, that he had acquired a power of forming his views with what seemed to be instinctive acuteness, and with a decisiveness which raised them above being slightly questioned. Nor was it the unerring judgment alone that the public admired. It venerated the honourable heart still more. A thorough gentleman in his feelings, and immovably honest in his principles, his whole character was elevated into moral majesty. He was sometimes described as overbearing. And in one sense, to the amusement of his friends, perhaps, he was so. Consulted by every body, and of course provoked by many, and with very undisciplined followers to lead, his superiority gave him the usual confidence of an oracle; and this operating on a little natural dogmatism, made him sometimes seem positive, and even hard: an impression strengthened by his manner. With a peremptory conclusiveness, a shrill defying voice, and a firm concentrated air, he appeared far more absolute than he really was, for he was ever candid and reasonable. But his real gentleness was often not seen; for if his first clear exposition did not convince, he was not unapt to take up a short disdainful refutation; which, however entertaining to the spectator, was not always comfortable to the adversary. But all this was mere manner. His opinions were uniformly liberal and charitable, and, when not under the actual excitement of indignation at wickedness or dangerous folly, his feelings were mild and benignant; and he liberalized his mind by that respectable intercourse with society which improves the good clergyman, and the rational man of the world. I was once walking with him in Queen Street, within the last three years of his life. A person approached who had long been an illiberal opponent of his, and for whom I understood that he had no great regard. I expected them to pass without recognition on either side. But instead of this, Sir Harry, apparently to the man's own surprise, stopped, and took him by the hand, and spoke kindly to him. When they separated, I said to Sir Harry that I thought he had not liked that person. "Oh! no; he's a foolish, intemperate creature. *But to tell you the truth, I dislike a man fewer every day that I live now.*" Lord Cockburn adds that Sir Harry's "great instrument of usefulness was his public speaking;" that he often rose in the pulpit into "great views and powerful declamation;" was "the noblest deliverer of prayers at striking funerals;" and in debate "a fearful man to grapple with;"¹ that "his writing, though respectable, was feeble;" and that "had he not preferred his church to every other object, there was no public honour to which he might not have fought his way," as counsel, judge, head of public department, or parliamentary leader.

WILKIE, WILLIAM, D.D., the "Scottish Homer," as he has been called, from the circumstance of his having been the author of a poem in the style of the Iliad, entitled the "Epigoniad," was born at Echlin, in the parish of Dalmeny, county of Linlithgow, on the 5th of October, 1721. His father was a farmer,

¹ There was really great justice (observes Lord Cockburn) in the remark of a little old north country minister, who, proud both of himself as a member, and of the reverend baronet who was predominating in the Assembly, said to his neighbour, "Preserve me, Sir! hoo that man Sir Harry does go on! *He puts me in mind o' Jupiter among the lesser gods.*"

and possessed a small property to which he succeeded by inheritance. He was an upright and intelligent man, but through a series of misfortunes became greatly reduced in circumstances in the latter part of his life.

The subject of this memoir received the earlier part of his education at the parish school of Dalmeny, then kept by a Mr Riddel, a respectable and successful teacher. At this seminary young Wilkie gave many proofs of a lively and vigorous fancy, and of that genius for poetry which afterwards distinguished him. Before he had passed his tenth year, he had written some little poetical sketches of considerable promise.

At the age of thirteen, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh. Here he also distinguished himself by the superiority of his talents, and in particular by the progress he made in classical acquirements, and in the study of theology. He had the good fortune, likewise, while attending college, to form intimacies with some of the most celebrated men of the last century. Amongst these were Dr Robertson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and John Home. Mr Mackenzie, in his life of the last mentioned individual, says that Wilkie's friends all spoke of him as "*superior in genius to any man of his time*, but rough and unpolished in his manners, and still less accommodating to the decorum of society in the ordinary habits of his life. Charles Townsend, a very competent judge of men," continues the biographer, "and who, both as a politician and a man of the world, was fond of judging them, said, after being introduced to Wilkie, and spending a day with him at Dr Carlyle's, that he had never met with a man who approached so near to the two extremes of a god and a brute as Dr Wilkie."

While prosecuting his studies at Edinburgh, Wilkie lost his father, who died in straitened circumstances, but left his son the stock and unexpired lease of a farm at Fishers' Tryste, a few miles south of the city, burdened, however, with the charge of maintaining his three sisters, who were otherwise wholly unprovided for; Wilkie, in consequence of this event, became a farmer; but, unwilling to trust entirely to that profession for his future subsistence, he continued, while conducting the business of his farm, to prosecute his studies in divinity, and eventually was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, although some years elapsed before he obtained a church. Previously to his assumption of the gown, he had made himself an expert farmer, and so remarkable was he, in particular, for his successful culture of the potatoe, then but indifferently understood, that he obtained the facetious by-name of the *potatoe minister*. But, while he claimed and really possessed the merit of being a superior agriculturist to any of his neighbours, he always acknowledged that he was their inferior in the art of trafficking; and the manner in which he made this boast and acknowledged this inferiority was characteristic of the man; "I can raise crops," he would say, "better than any of my neighbours, but I am always cheated in the market."

While pursuing his farming occupations at Fishers' Tryste, which he did with the most laudable industry and perseverance, labouring much and frequently with his own hands, he did not neglect those studies which his classical education had placed within his reach. It was here, and while labouring with scythe and sickle, ploughing and harrowing, that he conceived, and, at intervals of leisure, in part wrote, his poem of "*The Epigoniad*;" the work which acquired him what celebrity he possesses.

Through the influence of Mr Lind, sheriff-substitute of Mid Lothian, who resided in his neighbourhood, and who knew of and appreciated his abilities, Mr Wilkie obtained the appointment of assistant and successor to Mr Guthrie, minister of Ratho. To this office he was ordained by the presbytery on the

17th May, 1753. Three years afterwards, during all which time he continued to reside on and cultivate his farm, he succeeded to the entire living by the death of the incumbent.

In 1757, Mr Wilkie published at Edinburgh "The Epigoniad, a Poem in Nine Books," 12mo, and in 1759, a second edition, corrected and improved, with the addition of "A Dream, in the manner of Spenser." The Epigoniad obtained a temporary and local celebrity of no unenviable kind. It was read and admired by the learned of Scotland, and has been so frequently alluded to in contemporary literature, that even yet, when perhaps there is hardly a living man who has read it, nothing like oblivion can be said to have overtaken it. Mackenzie, in his life of Home, speaks of it as "a poem of great merit, not only as possessing much of the spirit and manner of Homer, but also a manly and vigorous style of poetry, rarely found in modern compositions of the kind." The same critic, after remarking the want of feeling which characterized Wilkie, goes on to say, "Perhaps it is to a want of this poetical sensibility that we may chiefly impute the inferior degree of interest excited by Wilkie's Epigoniad, to that which its merits in other respects might excite. Perhaps it suffers also from its author having the Homeric imitation constantly in view, in which, however, he must be allowed, I think, to have been very successful,—so successful that a person ignorant of Greek, will, I believe, better conceive what Homer is in the original by perusing the Epigoniad, than by reading even the excellent translation of Pope."

After his establishment at Ratho, Mr Wilkie became a frequent and welcome visitor at Hatton, the residence of the earl of Lauderdale, the patron of the parish, who highly esteemed him for his worth and talents, and was particularly fond of his society.

In 1759, he became a candidate for the chair of natural philosophy in the university of St Andrews, then vacant by the death of Mr David Young, and was successful. After settling in St Andrews, the poet purchased some acres of land, and resumed his farming occupations, in which he succeeded so well as to leave at his death property to the amount of £3000. Sometime after his appointment to the professorship, the university conferred on him, as a mark of its sense of his merits, the degree of doctor in divinity.

In 1768, Dr Wilkie published a series of sixteen "Moral Fables, in Verse," 8vo; but these, though sufficiently ingenious productions, did not advance him much farther in public favour as a poet. With this circumstance the remarkable occurrences of his life terminate. After a lingering indisposition, he died at St Andrews, on the 10th October, 1772, in the fifty-first year of his age.

Of Dr Wilkie's personal peculiarities some curious anecdotes have been preserved. Amongst the most amusing and extraordinary of his eccentricities was a practice of sleeping with an immoderate quantity of bed-clothes, and a detestation which he entertained of clean sheets. He has been known to sleep with no less than four and twenty pair of blankets on him; and his abhorrence of clean sheets was so great, that, whenever he met with them in any bed in which he was to lie, he immediately pulled them off, crumpled them together, and threw them aside. On one occasion, being pressed by lady Lauderdale to stay all night at Hatton, he agreed, though with reluctance, and only on condition that her ladyship would indulge him in the luxury of a pair of foul sheets!

He was of extremely parsimonious habits, although in the latter years of his life he was in the habit of giving away £20 annually in charity. His parsimony, however, did not proceed so much from a love of wealth as of independence. On this subject he was wont to say, "I have shaken hands with poverty up to the very elbow, and I wish never to see her face again. He was

absent to a degree that placed him frequently in the most awkward and ludicrous predicaments. He used tobacco to an immoderate excess, and was extremely slovenly in his dress.

WILLIAM, surnamed THE LION, one of the most distinguished of our early monarchs, was born in the year 1143. He was the second son of Henry, prince of Scotland, the son and heir-apparent of David I., but who predeceased his father in 1153. On the death of his son, David proclaimed his eldest grandson Malcolm as the heir of his Scottish dominions, and, destining William for a separate principality in Northumberland, caused the barons of that district to give him their promise of obedience, and took hostages for its performance. Malcolm accordingly succeeded David in 1153, as king of Scots, while William, then only ten years of age, became superior of the territory now constituting the northern counties of England.

In 1157, an agreement took place between Malcolm and Henry II. of England, by which Northumberland was ceded to the latter, who gave in return the earldom of Huntingdon; an exchange which produced great dissatisfaction in Scotland, and the utmost displeasure in the subject of this memoir. From this time Malcolm became unpopular in Scotland, and it is not improbable that William took advantage of the national prejudices to advance his own ambitious views. It is represented by the Scottish historians that, in 1164, the people obliged him to undertake the regency of the kingdom, while the king his brother gave himself up to religious meditation; a very decent description of what must have been little else than a usurpation. On the 28th December, 1165, Malcolm died, and William succeeded to the crown.

William, having repeatedly but vainly solicited the restitution of Northumberland from Henry II., at length joined in a confederacy with his son, the celebrated *Cœur de Lion*, for the purpose of dethroning that monarch; Richard not only assuring him of the territory he desired, but also granting the earldom of Cambridge to his younger brother David. In 1174, William served the purposes of this confederacy by an invasion of Northumberland, which he spoiled without mercy. He was prosecuting the siege of Alnwick with a small party, when a large body of Yorkshire horsemen came upon him unexpectedly. Though he had only sixty horse to present against four hundred, he gallantly charged the enemy, crying out, "Now we shall see who are true knights." He was unhorsed, disarmed, and made prisoner, while his companions, and some others who were not then present, submitted to the same fate, from a sentiment of duty. Henry did not make a generous use of this triumph. He caused the captive monarch to be brought into the presence of his court at Northampton, with his feet tied together under the belly of a horse, as if he had been a felon; and afterwards placed him in strict confinement in the castle of Falaise in Normandy. The Scots, towards the close of the year, recovered their monarch from captivity, but at the expense of a temporary surrender of their national independence. In terms of the treaty formed on this occasion, William was to do homage to the English king for the *whole of his dominions*; an object at which the latter had long unjustly aimed: and the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were surrendered as pledges on the part of the king of Scots, for the performance of his promise. The independence of the Scottish church was at the same time impignorated, but with certain cautious ambiguities of phrase that reflect great credit on the ingenuity of its dignitaries, who managed this part of the treaty. The claims of the English church over Scotland, however, disturbed several of the ensuing years of the reign of William, who, in resisting them, backed as

they were by the pope and all his terrors, showed surprising fortitude and perseverance.

In 1189, Richard Cœur de Lion, having acceded to the throne, and considering that William of Scotland had forfeited his independence in consequence of an attachment to his own interest, restored it to him, along with the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh. Perhaps it was not altogether from a generous or conscientious motive that the king performed this act of justice. He was about to commence his celebrated crusade, and it might be apparent to him that the king of Scots was not a neighbour to be left dissatisfied: he also stipulated for ten thousand merks as the price of the favour he was granting to his brother monarch. The treaty, however, which these mingled notions had dictated, was the blessed means of preserving peace between the two countries for upwards of a century. When Richard was afterwards so unfortunate as to become a captive in a foreign land, William contributed two thousand merks towards his ransom. Such transactions afford a pleasing relief to the general strain of our early history.

After a long reign, of which the last thirty years appear to have been spent in tranquillity, and without the occurrence of any remarkable event, William died at Stirling, December 4, 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign, leaving, by his wife, Ermingarde de Beaumont, one son, who succeeded him under the title of Alexander II. William also had six illegitimate children. He is allowed by historians to have been a vigorous and judicious prince, not exempt of course from the vices of his age, among which must be reckoned a rash valour, but adorned also by some of its virtues. William was the first Scottish sovereign who bore a coat armorial. He assumed the *lion rampant* upon his shield, and from this cause, it is supposed, he obtained the designation of *William the Lion*. A curious portrait of William has been preserved from time immemorial in the Trinity hospital at Aberdeen, and was lately engraved and published in the Transactions of the Antiquarian society of Scotland.

WILLOCK, JOHN, one of the earliest Scottish reformers, is supposed to have been a native of Ayrshire, and to have been educated at the university of Glasgow. He entered one of the monastic orders (that of the Franciscans, according to Spotswood, and of the Dominicans, according to Lesley) in the town of Ayr, and remained in it probably for several years; but the history of this period of his life is almost entirely unknown. Previously to 1541, he had become a convert to the protestant faith, and retired from his native country into England. There, however, he did not receive the protection which he seems to have expected; for, during the persecution for the Six Articles, he was thrown into the Fleet prison. After his liberation, he became one of the chaplains to the duke of Suffolk, the father of the lady Jane Grey; and during the reign of king Edward, appears to have lived in tranquillity. But the hopes of the protestants were soon blasted by the early death of that monarch; and Willock, with many others, was obliged once more to flee, on the accession of Mary to the throne. The town of Embden, in Friesland, was selected as the place of his retirement. Here he was enabled to turn his knowledge to account in the practice of medicine, which brought him into contact with persons of distinction, and, among others, with Anne, duchess of Friesland. The acquaintance, which was thus formed, was strengthened by subsequent intercourse, and Willock was sent by the duchess on several missions into Scotland. His visits to his native country, where he preached, whether in health or sickness, to all that came to his house, must have had a powerful effect in hastening the establish-

ment of the Reformation. He seems to have ultimately determined upon residing in Scotland; and, with this view, returned in 1558, or early in 1559. The town of Ayr, in which he had formerly lived in monastic seclusion, was now destined to be the place of his public ministrations; and he mentions St John's church as the place where he taught his doctrine "oppinlye befor the pepil." Nor did he decline controversy with the popish ecclesiastics: for, in 1559, he became the opponent of Quentin Kennedy, the well known abbot of Crosraguel;¹ and at a later period he had public disputes with Black, a Dominican friar, and with Robert Maxwell, a schoolmaster in Glasgow; but of neither of these has any account, so far as we are aware, been preserved. Early in 1559, Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, had summoned Willock, and some of the other protestant preachers, to appear before him; but their trial was prorogued by the queen regent's orders, and they were summoned to appear before the Justiciary court at Stirling. In the mean time, the gentlemen of the counties of Angus and Mearns, where the protestant doctrines prevailed, assembled with their followers, with the avowed intention of accompanying the ministers to Stirling. The queen regent became alarmed, and promised to Erskine of Dun, "to take some better order." Upon the faith of this promise, they retired, and the ministers did not, of course, consider themselves as still bound to appear. But when the day of trial came, the regent ordered the summons to be called, the ministers outlawed, and their cautioners amerced.

It is fortunate when such instances of duplicity meet with "the skaith and the scorn" which they deserve. This was certainly the case in the present instance. While the breach of faith alienated the affections of some of her best supporters, it had not even the temporary effect of retarding the progress of the new doctrines. In the following July, Willock preached in St Giles's, Edinburgh, to large audiences; and in harvest, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was publicly administered. The regent requested that mass might still be said, the church leaving it to the option of the people to attend the popish or the protestant service; but Willock and his party were sufficiently powerful to resist the proposal, and she had the mortification of seeing her wishes frustrated by the very men whom she had proclaimed rebels not two months before. She was to receive a yet more decided blow from them. In October, the nobility, barons, and burgesses, assembled at Edinburgh, to discuss the question, whether a regent who had contemptuously refused the advice of her born councillors,—who had infringed the laws, both of the realm and of common good faith,—and who had carried on a civil war in the kingdom,—should be suffered any longer to rule tyrannically over them. After a statement of their opinions by Willock and Knox, she was solemnly deposed, and a council, assisted by four ministers, of whom Willock was one, was appointed to carry on the government, till the first meeting of a parliament.

The arrangements which followed the establishment of the Reformation, and the appointment of superintendents over provinces, have been noticed in several of the lives in this work. In September, 1561, Willock was ordained superintendent of the west, at Glasgow, in presence of some of the most powerful of the nobility.² From this period ceases everything in his history, that may be

¹ See an account of their controversy, so far as it proceeded, in Keith's History, Appendix, 123—9.

² Although the form of admission did not take place till that date, there is evidence that Willock was settled in the west, and had an allowance from the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow, as early as October, 1560, before the meeting of the first General Assembly. In the following January, his wife, who appears to have resided in England

supposed to interest a general reader. He was now occupied, apparently, in the routine of his duties, and in the business of the General Assembly, of which he was several times (in 1563, 1565, and 1568) chosen moderator. In or before 1567, he seems to have gone to England; and the General Assembly, in testimony of their esteem, and of the value of his services, ordered John Knox to request him to return. This he did in a most affectionate letter, and it had its effect. Willock did return, and was appointed moderator of the next Assembly. For reasons which it is now in vain to conjecture, he is supposed to have returned to England, almost immediately afterwards. With this period closes every authentic trace of this excellent man, of whose history throughout, we unfortunately only know enough to excite, but not to gratify, our interest. A charge, apparently of a very absurd nature, has been brought against him by Mr George Chalmers. In a MS. in the State Paper office, that author discovered, that in April, 1590, "twa men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsonne, Scottishman, preacher, and Johnne Willockes, were convicted by a jury of robbery;" and he immediately concluded that this could be no one else, but "the reforming coadjutor of Knox:" a conclusion which could not fail to gratify his prejudices. Without troubling the reader with any lengthened defence of the supposition that there may have been more than *one* John Willock in broad England, we shall merely state, that as *our* Willock was a preacher in 1540, if not earlier, he must now have been at an age when robbers (when the gallows spares them) generally think of retiring from their profession.

Respecting the works of John Willock, we have not been able to learn anything. Dempster, in his account of him,—one of the most bitter articles in his "*Historia Ecclesiastica*,"—ascribes to him, "*Impia Quædam*;" which, however, he had not seen when he pronounced this opinion of them.³

WILLISON, JOHN, an eminent divine, and author of several well known religious works, was born in the year 1680. The singularly gentle and pious disposition which he evinced, even in his boyhood, together with the extraordinary aptness which he discovered for learning, determined his parents to devote him, from a very early period of his life, to the service of the church, and in this determination young Willison cordially acquiesced. It was the profession of all others which he himself preferred.

On completing a regular course of academical education, he entered on the study of divinity, and prosecuted it with remarkable assiduity and success. Having duly qualified himself for the sacred calling of the ministry, he was almost immediately thereafter invited, 1703, by an unanimous call, to the pastoral office at Brechin. Here he acquired so great a degree of popularity by his abilities as a preacher, and by the simplicity and purity of his manners and conduct, and the benevolence of his disposition, that he was earnestly and unanimously called upon by the people of Dundee to fill a vacancy which shortly after occurred in that town. He accordingly removed thither, and remained there till his death.

Mr Willison's abilities procured him a remarkable prominence in all public discussions regarding church matters in the period in which he lived, especially in the question of patronage, to which he was decidedly hostile. He was, indeed, considered the leader of the party who advocated the right of the people to choose their own pastors agreeably to the settlement of the church at the revolution, in 1689, and was indefatigable in his exertions to restore the exercise

during the struggles which preceded the Reformation, joined him. (Wodrow's Biographical Collections, printed by the Maitland Club, i. 450.)

³ Abridged from Wodrow's Biographical Collections i., 99—116, 418—453.

of this popular right, which had been overturned by an act of parliament passed in 1712. In these exertions, however, both Mr Willison and his party were unsuccessful till the year 1734, when they were fortunate enough to procure the co-operation of the General Assembly in their views. That body had hitherto strenuously seconded the enforcement of the system of exclusive patronage, but in the year just named it happened to be composed of men who entertained directly opposite sentiments on that subject to those avowed and acted upon by their predecessors;—so opposite, indeed, that they determined, in the following year, 1735, to apply to parliament for a repeal of the patronage act. The known abilities, zeal, and activity of Mr Willison suggested him as one of the fittest persons to proceed to London on this important mission, and he was accordingly appointed, with two other clergymen, Messrs Gordon and Mackintosh, to perform that duty; but the application was unsuccessful.

Mr Willison also distinguished himself by the strenuous efforts he made to keep the peace of the church, by endeavouring to prevent those schisms, and to reconcile those differences, which led to the separation of large bodies of Christians from the established church, and which first began to manifest themselves about this period. His efforts were unsuccessful, but not the less meritorious on that account.

Besides being a popular preacher, Mr Willison was also a popular author, and in the religious world his name, in the latter capacity, still stands, and will long stand, deservedly high. His principal works are, "The Afflicted Man's Companion," written, as he himself says, with the benevolent intention "that the afflicted may have a book in their houses, and at their bed sides, as a monitor to preach to them in private, when they are restrained from hearing sermons in public;" and the work is admirably calculated to have the soothing effect intended by its able and amiable author; "The Church's Danger and Ministers' Duty;" "A Sacramental Directory;" "A Sacramental Catechism;" "An Example of Plain Catechising;" "The Balm of Gilead;" "Sacramental Meditations;" "Appendix to Sacramental Meditations;" "A Fair and Impartial Testimony;" "Gospel Hymns;" "Popery another Gospel;" and "The Young Communicant's Catechism." An edition of these very useful and pious works, in one volume, 4to, was published at Aberdeen in 1817.

Mr Willison is described as having been most exemplary in all the relations of life, and singularly faithful and laborious in the discharge of the important duties of his sacred office, especially in visiting and comforting the sick. In this benevolent work he made no distinction between the rich and the poor, or, if he did, it was in favour of the latter. Neither did he confine his exertions in such cases to those of his own persuasion, but with a truly christian liberality of sentiment, readily obeyed the calls of all in affliction, whatever their religious creed might be, who sought his aid.

Mr Willison died at Dundee, on the 3rd of May, 1750, in the seventieth year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his ministry.

WILSON, ALEXANDER, the celebrated Ornithologist, was born in Paisley, on the 6th July, 1766. His father was at that time a distiller in a limited way; poor in circumstances, but sober, religious, and industrious, and possessed of sagacity and intelligence much beyond most men in his sphere of life. From the period of his son's birth, he entertained the project so fondly cherished by almost every parent among our Scottish peasantry, of rearing him up to be a minister of the gospel. There is no evidence to show that young Wilson displayed any unusual precocity of intellect or bias of disposition to jus-

tify so high a destination ; but even if he had, he would have been compelled to relinquish his views by the death of his mother, which left his father embarrassed with the charge of a young family. Alexander was at this time ten years of age, and although his education had necessarily been restricted to the ordinary branches of writing, reading, and accounts, the judicious and careful superintendence of his father had even then imbued his mind with a passion for reading, and a predilection for the beauties of nature, which continued to influence his character ever afterwards. In his correspondence at a later period of his life, Wilson often recurs, with expressions of warm filial gratitude, to the paternal anxiety with which his early studies were directed, to which he attributed all the eminence and honours he subsequently attained. In a letter, dated February, 1811, he says:—"The publication of my *Ornithology*, though it has swallowed up all the little I had saved, has procured me the honour of many friends, eminent in this country, and the esteem of the public at large ; for which I have to thank the goodness of a kind father, whose attention to my education in early life, as well as the books then put into my hands, first gave my mind a bias towards relishing the paths of literature, and the charms and magnificence of nature. These, it is true, particularly the latter, have made me a wanderer in life ; but they have also enabled me to support an honest and respectable situation in the world, and have been the sources of almost all my enjoyments."

Wilson's father soon married again ; a d three years passed away, during which time Alexander seems to have had no other occupation, but reading and roaming about, feeding in solitude habits of reflection, and an ardent poetic temperament, which led him to shun the society of his frolicsome compeers. An American biographer erroneously attributed this disposition for solitary rambling, and his ultimate departure from the paternal dwelling, to the harsh treatment of his stepmother ; but it has been clearly proved by subsequent writers, that she discharged her duty towards him with great tenderness and affection ; and Wilson himself uniformly speaks of her with great respect.

At the age of thirteen,—that is in July, 1779,—Wilson was apprenticed for three years to William Duncan, a weaver, who had married his eldest sister. This occupation was quite at variance with his disposition and previous habits ; yet he, nevertheless, not only completed his indenture, but afterwards wrought for four years as a journeyman, residing sometimes at Paisley, at other times in his father's house, (who had then removed to Lochwinnoch,) and latterly with his brother-in-law, Duncan, who had shifted his quarters to Queensferry. Having much of his time at his own disposal during the last four years, Wilson gave a loose to his poetical disposition ; his relish for the quiet and sequestered beauties of nature, which began to assume almost the character of a passion, he indulged more and more, giving utterance to his feelings in verses—chiefly descriptive—which, if exhibiting no great power of diction, certainly display an expansion of thought, a purity of taste, and a refinement of sentiment, that are very remarkable in one so young, and so unfavourably circumstanced for the cultivation of literary pursuits. The only explanation which can be given of the fact, is, that he possessed an insatiable thirst for reading ; and with that and solitary musings, passed the leisure hours which others generally devote to social amusements. An almost necessary consequent on this gradual refinement and elevation of mind, was, a disgust with the slavish and monotonous occupation of the loom ; and the incongruity between his worldly circumstances and the secret aspirations of his soul, frequently occasioned fits of the deepest melancholy. Unlike, however, but too many of the like sensitive character, similarly situated, he never sought relief

from his morbid despondency in the deceitful stimulant of the bottle. He yielded to its influence, only in as far as he manifested an increasing aversion to his occupation; or, as more worldly-minded people would term it, a tendency to idleness. Nor did the circumstance of several of his juvenile pieces appearing about this time in the *Glasgow Advertiser*, (now the *Glasgow Herald*;) and which attracted no small attention amongst his townsmen, tend anything to reconcile him to the shuttle. This was immediately before his migration to Queensferry; on his removal to which place, a circumstance occurred, which had a strong influence upon his future fortunes and character. His brother-in-law, Duncan, finding the trade of weaving inadequate to the support of his family, resolved to attempt that of a peddler or travelling merchant, for a while, and invited Wilson to join in the expedition. No proposal could have been more congenial to the young poet's mind, promising, as it did, the gratification of the two most powerful passions which he cherished,—a desire for increasing his knowledge of men and manners; and a thirst for contemplating the varied scenery of nature. From a journal which he kept, indeed, (he was in his twentieth year when he set out,) during this expedition, it is evident that his sensations almost amounted to rapture; and he speaks with the most profound contempt of the “grovelling sons of interest, and the grubs of this world, who know as little of, and are as incapable of enjoying, the pleasures arising from the study of nature, as those miserable spirits who are doomed to perpetual darkness, can the glorious regions and eternal delights of paradise!” For nearly three years did Wilson lead this wandering life, during which time it appears that he paid less attention to the sale of his wares, than to gratifying his predilection for reading and composition, and indulging in a sort of dreamy meditation, little compatible with the interests of his pack. In fact, of all occupations, the sneaking, cajoling, and half-mendicant profession of a peddler, was perhaps the most unsuitable to the manly and zealously independent tone of Wilson's mind; but he was consoled for his want of success, by the opportunities he enjoyed of visiting those spots rendered classical, or hallowed by the “tales of the days of old.” He used to speak, for instance, with rapt enthusiasm, of the exultation he experienced in visiting the village of Athelstaneford, successively the residence of Blair and Home. During this happy period—the only truly happy one, perhaps, of his whole life—his muse was so busy, that, in 1789, he began to think of publishing. As he could get no bookseller, however, to risk the necessary outlay, he was compelled to advance what little gains he had stored up, and getting a bundle of prospectuses thrown off, he set out on a second journey with his pack, for the double purpose of selling muslins and procuring subscribers for his poems. In the latter object, he was grievously disappointed; but Wilson was not a man to travel from Dan to Beersheba, and say all is barren, even although foiled in the immediate purpose of his heart. His journal, during this second journey, indicates the strong and rapid growth of his understanding, and exhibits powers of observation and philosophic reflection, remarkable in a young man of the immature age of twenty-three. Upon his return home, he obtained the publication of his poems by Mr John Neilson, printer in Paisley, when he again set out on his former route, carrying with him a plentiful supply of copies, for the benefit of those who might prefer poetry to packware. A less sanguine individual than Wilson, might have anticipated the prejudice with which attempts at literary eminence, emanating from such a quarter, were likely to be viewed by the world. But our author was one to whose mind nothing but the test of experience could ever carry conviction—a characteristic, which, in his subsequent career, proved one of the most valuable attributes of his mind. His expectations were

soon resolved in the present instance. The amount of his success may be gathered from a passage in one of his letters from Edinburgh, wherein he says, "I have this day measured the height of a hundred stairs, and explored the recesses of twice that number of miserable habitations; and what have I gained by it? only two shillings of worldly pelf!" In short, poetry and peddlery proved equally unsuccessful in his hands; he had neither impudence, flattery, nor importunity enough, to pass off either the one or the other upon the public; and he returned, mortified and disappointed, to his father's house at Lochwinnoch, where necessity compelled him to resume the shuttle. But his was not a heart to sink into despair under the frowns of fortune; and accident soon furnished occasion for a display of the latent vigour of his mind. A few of the rising Edinburgh *literati*, having formed themselves into a debating society called the *Forum*, were in the habit of propounding questions for discussion, in which the public were admitted to take a share. It happened about the time we are speaking of, that one of the questions for debate was, "Whether the exertions of Allan Ramsay or Robert Fergusson had done most honour to Scottish poetry?" Wilson having accidentally got notice of this, became fired with the idea of making a public appearance upon a subject, on which he felt confident he was capable of acquitting himself creditably, even although he had not then read the poems of Fergusson, and had only a fortnight to prepare himself. He accordingly borrowed a copy, read, and formed his opinion, composed a poem of considerable length for the occasion, labouring all the while double the usual time at the loom, in order to raise funds for his journey; and arrived in Edinburgh in time to take a share in the debate, and recite his poem, called the "Laurel Disputed;" in which, contrary to the opinion of the audience, he assigned the precedence to Fergusson. Wilson remained some weeks in Edinburgh, during which time he composed and recited in public other two poetical essays, and published his "Laurel Disputed;" a poem slovenly, or we should rather say hastily written, but marked by much rough vigour of thought. Some of his pieces about the same time appeared in Dr Anderson's *Bee*; a fact sufficiently proving that his poetical talents were appreciated by those who constituted the high court of criticism in Edinburgh at the time; but from some cause or other—probably the poverty of his circumstances, together with his unobtrusive disposition—he met with no efficient patronage or encouragement to induce him to try his fortune in the metropolitan world of letters; and he returned home to the loom, with nothing else than some increase of reputation.

About this time, an interesting incident took place in Wilson's career. The poems of Burns had then (1791) drawn their immortal author from his obscure situation, into the full blaze of fame and popularity. Wilson, having obtained a copy of them, wrote to Burns, strongly objecting to the immoral tendency of several of the pieces. The latter replied, that he was now so much accustomed to such charges, that he seldom paid any attention to them; but that, as Wilson was *no common man*, he would endeavour to vindicate his writings from the imputation laid against them; which he accordingly did. Wilson shortly afterwards made a peregrination into Ayrshire to visit Burns, and an intimacy commenced, which probably would only have been terminated by death, but for the causes which shortly afterwards doomed Wilson to expatriation. The two poets, indeed, had many striking points of resemblance in their character, especially in the manly and dauntless independence of their minds, their love of nature, and their admiration of everything generous and noble, and intolerance of everything low and mean. Yet it is singular what a contrast their respective writings exhibit. While the passion of love was the main source of

Burns's inspirations, even to the last, Wilson, even in the heyday of ardent youth, seldom alludes to such a feeling; and when he does, it is in the cool tone with which an unconcerned individual would speak of any other curious natural phenomenon.

In the following year (1792) appeared Wilson's admirable narrative poem, "Watty and Meg." Being published anonymously, it was universally attributed to Burns; a mistake, which, of course, the author felt as the highest acknowledgment of its merits. But this was the last gleam of sunshine he enjoyed in his native land. A violent dispute broke out between the journey-men and master weavers of Paisley, and Wilson joined the ranks of the former with all the determined energy which so peculiarly characterized him. Fierce and bitter anonymous satires appeared, the paternity of which was rightly assigned to Wilson; and one individual, especially, a most respectable and benevolent man, but who was represented to the poet as a monster of avarice and oppression, was libelled by him in a manner too gross to be patiently borne. Wilson was prosecuted, convicted, imprisoned, and compelled to burn the libel with his own hands at the public cross of Paisley. In a badly regulated mind, such an infliction would only have excited thoughts of retaliation, and the desire of revenge; but, although Wilson must have smarted severely under the disgrace, he was a man of too correct and candid judgment, to persist wilfully in an evil course. He deeply repented afterwards these wrathful effusions of his pen. Before setting out to America, he called upon all those whom he had been instigated to satirize, and asked their forgiveness for any uneasiness his writings had occasioned; and many years afterwards, when his brother David, who went out to join him in the west, carried out a collection of these youthful satires, thinking they would be an acceptable present to him, after the lapse of so long a period, Wilson, without once looking at them, threw the packet into the fire, exclaiming, "These were the sins of my youth; and had I taken my good old father's advice, they never would have seen the light." Such an anecdote is equally creditable to the father's good sense, and the son's moral feeling. But other public events accelerated the most important crisis in Wilson's life. The French Revolution, with all its delusive promises of a harvest of liberty, broke out; its influence spread over the surrounding nations, and Wilson was one of those ardent men, who, in our own country, conceived a favourable opportunity to have occurred for reforming the national institutions. His well known zeal and determination of mind made him, of course, be looked upon as a man of most dangerous character; and, his previous attacks upon the authorities of Paisley being yet fresh in their recollection, he was watched with a suspicion proportioned to the dislike with which he was regarded. From these causes, Wilson's situation soon became intolerably unpleasant to him; and he then, for the first time, resolved upon emigrating to America. By what means he purposed to support himself there, it is not very easy to conjecture; but having once resolved, he proceeded immediately to put his plan into execution. His chief, if not his only, obstacle, was the want of funds; and, to raise them, he applied himself so indefatigably to the loom, that in four months he realized the amount of his passage money. He has himself recorded that, during this period, his expenses for living did not exceed *one shilling per week*; so little does man actually require for the bare sustenance of life.

Having bidden adieu to his friends and relatives, he walked on foot to Portpatrick, whence he passed over to Belfast, and there embarked on board a vessel bound for Newcastle in the Delaware State, being necessitated to sleep on deck during the voyage. He landed in America on the 14th July, 1794,

